

Personal Draft: 2/3 2/6-6^d



D^{ns} Edoardus Dering de Surenden-Dering
Miles et Baronettus.

G.G.

1827 13. Jan.

Personal Draft: 2/3 2/6-6^d

~~2/3 2/6-6^d~~



D^{ns} Edoardus Dering de Surenden-Dering
Miles et Baronettus.

G.G.

1827 13. Jan.

A F-48

Collection of Speeches

MADE BY
Sir EDWARD DERING
KNIGHT and BARONET,
in matter of

RELIGION.

Some formerly printed, and divers
more now added: All of them revised,

For the

VINDICATION

Of His NAME,

From weake and wilfull calumnie:

And by the same

Sir EDWARD DERING

now subjected to publike

VIEW and CENSURE.

Vpon the urgent importunity of many,
both Gentlemen and Divines.

Ovid. *Dat veniam Corvis, vexat censura Columbas.*

Aristoph. in *Avis*. Μαρτύρομαι τυπλόμηνος ὢν ἐπίσκοπος.

London, Printed 1642.

LIBRARY OF UNION
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY,
NEW YORK.
GIFT FROM

DAVID H. MCALPIN:

To the Reader.

LET them who are in a fault ransom themselves with excusatory defences. I have no such worke in hand. A short Narration will be my just Vindication.

Apologies are ever read with Felousie: and they are indeed but after-games at Reputation. These sheets doe not wear that livery: I have no need to Apologize.

Nothing in my selfe hath moved me to open these Papers abroad: and what need I regard the emptie opinion of such as doe either weakly or wilfully traduce? But they doe traduce! it is said that I doe *εναποταπεινω* yet none can iustly say, where, when, to whom, or what, I ever said that I doe since recede from.

Reader, if thou either be a Scholler or a Gentleman read and censure freely: I feare no blot from thy hand: if thou be neither, cast what dirt thou wilt, none will sticke on me. And indeed I had rather (if thou be such) beare the scourge of thy tongue, then have the kisses of thy lips: The latter would make me suspect my selfe, the former would beget a hope of some merit in me.

A well-fare to my Reader if, he be, either of birth or breeding: A farewell to the rest.

Edward Dering.

SECTION. I.

WHy am I thus unhappily, and thus publicly engaged? If my head and my heart have alway gone even pace together, if my conscience and my tongue have ever kept one tune, how is it that I heare my selfe changed? If any thing I have said or done be contrariant, nay if dissonant or retardant to a most *severe Reformation*, (the utmost of my constant wish and profession) nay if upon any occasion I have therein been remisse and tepid, if upon all occasions I have not given my active and my hearty endeavours thereunto, some good friend be a true glasse unto me, and reflect that by-past error to my sight againe. I will owne the fault (if it be mine) and thanke him.

But if some passengers (in I know not what Ship) saile by, untill their owne heads be giddy, they may as well say, that the Hills and Trees upon the shoare, as that I am moved. Whilst they are floating, I stand steady, wondering to what coast they are bound.

The question is, whether ever I professed my self for *Root and Branch*: that is the *Shibboleth* whereby some try whether you are for *Ruine* or for *Reforming*. Every one is not catechised in plain tearmes as I was, *Art thou for us, or for our Adversaries?* So said one of the usuall black walkers in Westminster Hall. Another of our Parliament-pressing Ministers, after I had delivered my sence upon Episcopacy in the House, came to me and told me plainly, *That my conscience was not so good as in the beginning of the Parliament.* Yet I may (and doe) challenge him, or any man, to instance where, when, and what I have said to deserve this opinion of change.

I presse not this, as fondly glorying in a pertinacy. No, I professe my selfe ready and willing, at any time to imbrace a corrected understanding, let any of them (who hath temper, discretion and charity) come and try me. I have no end, no ayme to lead me, but faire truth, I have no byas but a conscience warmed with zeale, and therefore when I change, (if I change) it shall be the conquest and victory of truth upon me. And I then shall never bee ashamed of being wonne, but will glory in the change.

But

Josh. 5. 13.
M. F.
T. C.

But I deliver'd in the Bill for abolition of Episcopacy. True, my *S. A. H.* friend (then next mee) urged mee with importunity that I would receive it, and plainly said it should goe in how ever, and so (I am assured) it had, but not with so faint commendations as I bestowed on it, which (I dare say) gave no weight unto the worke. The Bill was then lesse then two sheets of paper, and by subjoyning two more might have given us the old originall Episcopacy, even with the same hand that abrogated the present. Beside, the chiefe end then was to expedite the progresse of another Bill against the secular jurisdiction of the Bishops (at that very time) labouring in the House of Lords. So that this Bill did in my sence *Iniquum petere, ut aequum ferret.*

Little did I (or any man there) imagine, that those two sheets should bee multiplied with addition of above fourty more, and yet unfinished.

The onely colour, or rather shadow whereupon some thought mee as fierce for *ruine* as themselves, was my fortune or misfortune, to strike first, (and shortly after, secondly) at the tallest Cedar on the Churches *Libanon*. Tis true I did so, and am nothing sorry for the blow. His crimes were many: the complaints were fresh with mee, and my selfe (entrusted by that County where his Diocesse is seated) as fit as any to strike that stroke.

This was at that time received and applauded as an act of justice, but by the same men of late traduced, as relishing of personall malignity. *Non sic didici Christum.* I thanke God, my heart hath never yet knowne the swelling of a personall malice. And for the Bishop, I professe, I did (and doe) beare a good degree of personall love unto him, a love unto some parts and qualities, which I thinke him master of.

His intent of publike uniformity was a good purpose, though in the way of his pursuit thereof hee was extreemely faulty.

His booke lately set forth (especially for the latter halfe thereof) hath muzzled the Jesuite, and shal strike the Papists under the fifth ribbe, when hee is dead and gone. And being dead, wheresoever his grave shall bee, *Paul's* will bee his perpetuall monument, and his owne booke his lasting *Epitaph*.

It is true, the roughnesse of his uncourtly nature sent most men discontented from him: yet would hee often (of himselfe) find wayes and meanes to sweeten many of them againe, when they least looked for it.

Lastly, hee was alway one and the same man, begin with him at *Oxford*, and so goe on to *Canterbury*, hee is unmov'd, unchanged: hee never complied with the times, but kept his owne stand, untill the times came up to him,

Hee is not now in a condition to be flattered, nor was I ever so low, to use it. I did not accase him for these. I struck another string; and that of so right a tune to them that are stung with the *Tarantula*, that I was instantly voyced, more as they would have mee, then I was. For (the truth is) I did not dreame, at that time of *extirpation* and abolition of any more then his Archiepiscopacy: our professed *rooters* themselves (many of them) at that houre had I perswade my selfe, more moderate hopes then since are entertained. *A severer reformation* was a sweet song then. I am and ever was for that, and for no more.

Dr. W. It is objected that I goe counter to what I have publickly asserted in the House: have patience, and take a copy of what I have spoken in matter of Religion.

SECT. II.

Novemb. 10. 1640.

Mr. Speaker,

Yesterday the great affaires of this House did borrow all the time allotted to the great Committe for Religion. I am sorry that having but halfe a day in a whole weeke, wee have lost that.

Mr. Speaker, It hath pleased God to put into the heart of his Majesty (for the Kings heart is in the hand of the Lord) once more to assemble us into a Senate, to consult upon the unhappy distractions, the sad dangers, and the much feared ruines of this late flourishing Church and Kingdome. God be praised, both for his goodnesse, and for his severity whereby hee hath impelled this meeting; and humble thanks unto his Majesty, whose parentall care of us his Subjects, is willing to relieve us.

The sufferances that wee have undergone are reducible to two heads. The first concerning the *Church*: the second belonging to the *Common-wealth*. The first of these must have the first fruits of this Parliament, as being the first in weight and worth, and more immediate to the honour of God and his glory, every dramme whereof is worth the whole weight of a Kingdome.

The *Common-wealth* (it is true) is full of apparent dangers. The sword is come home unto us, and the two twin-Nations united together under one Royall head, brethren together in the bowels and the bosome of the same Island, and which is above all, imbande together with the same Religion (I say the same Religion) by a Devillish machination, like to bee fatally imbrued in each others blood, ready to dig each others grave, *Quantillum absuit!*

For

For other grievances also, the poore disheartned Subject, sadly groanes, not able to distinguish betwixt Power and Law: And with a weeping heart (no question) hath prayed for this houre, in hope to bee relieved, and to know hereafter, whether any thing hee hath, besides his poore part and portion of the Common ayre hee breaths; may be truly called his owne.

These (Mr. *Speaker*) and many other doe deserve, and must shortly have our deepe regard, but *Suo gradu*, not in the first place: There is a *numm necessarium* above all our worldly sufferances and dangers, Religion, the immediate service due unto the honour of Almighty God. And herein let us all bee confident, that all our consultations will prove unprosperous, if wee put any determination before that of Religion.

For my part, Let the sword reach from the North to the South, and a generall perdition of all our remaining right and safety, threaten us in open view, it shall bee so farre from making mee to decline the first settling of Religion, that I shall ever argue, and rather conclude it thus. The more great, the more imminent our perils of this World are, the stronger and quicker ought our care to bee for the glory of God and the pure Law of our soules.

If then (Mr. *Speaker*) it may passe with full allowance, that all our cares may give way unto the treaty of Religion, I will reduce that also to be considered under two heads: first of Ecclesiastick persons, then of Ecclesiastick causes. Let no man start or bee affrighted at the imagined length of this consultation, it will not, it cannot take up so much time as it is worth.—This, it is God and the King; this, is God and the Kingdome, nay, this, is God and the two Kingdomes cause.

And therefore (Mr. *Speaker*) my humble motion is, that wee may all of us seriously, speedily, and heartily enter upon this, the best, the greatest, the most important cause wee can treat of.

Now (Mr. *Speaker*) in pursuite of my owne motion, and to make a little entrance into this great affaire, I will present unto you the petition of a poore oppressed Minister in the County of *Kent*. A man Orthodox in his Doctrine, conformable in his life, laborious in the Ministry as any wee have, or I doe know.

Hee is now a sufferer (as all good men are) under the generall obloquy of a Puritan; (as with other things was excellently delivered by that silver trumpet at the Barre.) The Pursivant watches his doore, and divides him and his Cure asunder, to both their griefes: For it is not with him as (perhaps) with some that set the Pursivant at worke, gladdened of an excuse so bee out of their Pulpit, It is his delight to Preach,

Sir Ben.
Radcliff.

Aboue

About a weeke since I went over to *Lambeth*, to move that great Bishop (too great indeed) to take this danger off from this Minister, and to recall the Pursivant. And withall I did undertake for Master *Wilson* (for so your Petitioner is called) that hee should answer his accusers in any of the Kings Courts at *Westminster*.

The Bishop made mee answer (as neere as I can remember) *in hæc verba*, I am sure that hee will not bee absent from his Cure a twelvemoneeth together, and then (I doubt not) but once in a yeare wee shall have him.

This was all I could obtaine, but I hope, (by the helpe of this House) before this yeare of threats run round, *His Grace* will either have more *Grace*, or no *Grace* at all. For our manifold griefes doe fill a mighty and a vast circumference, yet so that from every part our lines of sorrow, doe lead unto him, and point at him the Center, from whence our miseries in this Church, and many of them in the Common-wealth doe flow.

Let the Petition bee read, and let us enter upon the worke.

WHat is here for *Root and Branch*? I can not find a line that I can with unsaid: nor doe I read a letter, that I would goe lesse in. It is replied, that the Petitioner Mr. *Wilson*, is a man for *Root and Branch*; if hee bee, that was no part of his Petition, nor indeed any part of my knowledge then: I am no more obliged to answer herein, then I am bound to owne and defend Mr. *Wilson*, if hee should hereafter cast aside the Common-prayer, what were that to mee, or to what I then did say? sure I am, that I was well assured, that hee did not allow of separation then: and that hee had bene a powerfull perswader of others, not to withdraw from our publike service. And I thinke so well of his goodnesse, temper and conscience, that hee will not easily bee led away to these mistaking excesses.

SECT. III.

THe next is that which I spake in the grand Committee of the whole House for Religion, Mr. *White* holding that Chaire: whereof this is a copy.

23. Novemb. 1640.

Mr. *White*;

YOU have many private Petitions, give mee leave (by word of mouth) to interpose one more generall, which thus you may receive.

Gods

Gods true Religion is violently invaded by two seeming enemies: but indeed they are (like *Herod* and *Pilate*) fast friends for the destruction of truth. I meane the Papists for one party, and our Prelating faction for the other. Betweene these two in their severall progresse, I observe the concurrence of some few Parallels, fit (as I conceive) to bee represented to this Honourable House.

First with the Papists, there is a severe *Inquisition*: and with us (as it is used) there is a bitter high *Commission*; both these (*contra factum & jus*) are Judges in their owne cause: yet herein their *Inquisitors* are better then our *High-Commissioners*——They (for ought I ever heard) doe not (*severe in suos*) punish for delinquents and offenders, such as professe and practice, according to the Religion established by the Lawes of the Land where they live.

But with us how many poore distressed Ministers; nay how many scores of them, in a few yeares past, have bene suspended, degraded, deprived, excommunicated, not guilty of the breach of any our established Lawes. The petitions of many are herewith us, more are coming: all their prayers are in Heaven for redresse.

Secondly, with the Papists, there is a Mysteries artifice, I meane their *Index expurgatorius* whereby they clip the tongues of such witnesses, whose evidence they doe not like.—To this I parallell our late *Imprimatur's*: Licences for the Presse: so handled that Truth is suppressed, and Popish Pamphlets fly abroad *cum privilegio*: witness the audacious and Libelling Pamphlets against true Religion, written by *Pocklington*, *Heylin*, *Dow*, *Cofins*, *Shelford*, *Swan*, *Reeves*, *Tates*, *Hausted*, *Studley*, *Sparrow*, *Brown*, *Roberts*.——Many more: I name no Bishops, but I adde, &c.

Nay, they are already growne so bold in this new trade, that the most learned labours of our ancient and best Divines, must bee now corrected and defaced with a *Deleatur* by the supercilious men of my Lords young Chaplain (fit perhaps) for the technicall arts, but unfit to hold the Chaire for Divinity.

But herein the *Roman Index* is better then are our *English Licenses*: They thereby doe preserve the current of their owne established Doctrine: a point of wisdom. But with us our *Innovators* by this artifice doe alter our sealed Doctrines; Nay they doe subinduce points repugnant and contrariant. And this I dare assume upon my selfe to prove.

One Parallell more I have, and that is this. Among the Papists, there is one acknowledged supreme Pope, supreme in honour, in order and in power: from whose judgement there is no appeale,—I confesse

B

(Mr. Spee.

(Mr. Speaker) I cannot altogether match a Pope with a Pope : (yet one of the ancient titles of our *English* Primate was *Alterius orbis Papa.*) But thus farre I can goe, *Ex ore suo.* It is in print,— Hee pleads faire for a Patriarchate : And for such an one, whose judgement, hee (before-hand) professeth ought to bee finall : and then (I am sure) it ought to bee un-erring.

Put these together, and you shall find that the finall determination of a Patriarch will want very little of a Pope,—and then wee may say

————— *Mutato nomine de te*

Fabula narratur —————

Hee pleads Popeiship under the name of a Patriarch. And I much feare least the end and top of his Patriarchall plea may bee as that of *Cardinall Pole* (his *Predecessour*) who would have two heads, one *Caput Regale*, another *Caput Sacerdotale* : ~~a~~ proud parallell, to set up the Miter as high as the Crowne.

But herein I shall bee free and cleare, if one there must bee, bee it a Pope, bee it a Patriarch; this I resolve upon for my owne choyce (*Procul a Jove procul a fulmine.*) I had rather serve one as farre off as *Tyber*, then to have him come so neere mee as the *Thames*. A Pope at *Rome* will doe mee lesse hurt then a Patriarch may doe at *Lambeth*.

I have done, and for this third Parallell I submit it to the Wisedome and consideration of this grand Committee for Religion, in the meane time I doe ground my motion, upon the former two, and it is this in briebe.

That you would please to select a subcommittee of a few, and to impower them for the discovery of the numbers of oppressed Ministers under the Bishops tyranny for these tenne yeares last past. Wee have the complaint of some, but more are silent : some are patient and will not complaine, others are fearefull and dare not, many are beyond Sea and cannot complaine.

And in the second place, that the sub-Committee may examine the Printers what bookes by bad Licences have beene corruptly issued forth : and what good bookes have beene (like good Ministers) silenced, slipped or cropp'd.

The worke I conceive will not bee difficult, but will quickly returne into your hand full of weight.

And this is my motion.

What is here for *Root and Branch*? But I must search farther, although for that, which (I am sure) cannot be found.

S E E T.

SECT. IV.

I Come now to the likeliest triall wherein to find my selfe guilty. A petition was brought unto mee out of *Kent* in *terminis terminantibus*, as that (from many Citizens of *London*) which is in print. This indeed if it were not the *Spawne of the London petition*, yet finding it a *My L. Parrat* taught to speake the syllables of that, and by roate calling for *Root G. D. and Branche*, I dealt with the presenters thereof, and with other parties thereunto, untill (with their consents) I reduced it to lesse then a quarter of it former length, and taught it a new and more modest language, Vpon delivery of this Petition thus I prefaced.

January 13. 1640,

Mr. Speaker,

Yesterday we did regulate the most important businesse before us; and gave them motion, so that our weighty affaires, are now on their feet in their progresse, journeying on towards their severall periods, where some I hope will shortly find their latest home.

Yet among all these I observe one, a very maine one, to sleep *sine die*: give me leave to awaken it; It is a businesse of an immense weight, and worth; such as deserves our best care, and most severe circumspection. I mean the grand Petition long since given in by many thousand Citizens against the Domineering of the Clergy.

Wherein (for my part) although I cannot approve of all that is presented unto you, yet I doe clearely professe, that a great part of it, nay the greatest part thereof, is so well grounded, that my heart goes cheerefully along therewith.

It seemes that my Country (for which I have the honour to serve) is of the same mind, and least that you should thinke that all faults are included within the walles of *Troy*, they will shew you

Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra.

The same grievances which the City groanes under, are provincially unto us, and I much feare they are nationall among us all.

The Pride, the Avarice, the Ambition and Oppression, by our ill ruling Clergy is *Epidemicall*, it hath infected them all. There is not any, or scarce any of them, who is not practicall in their owne great cause in hand, which they impiously doe mis-call, *the piety of the times*, but in truth, so wrong a Piety that I am bold to say,

In facinus iurasse putes.

Here in this Petition is the Disease represented, [here is the Cure intreated].

The number of your Petitioners is considerable, being above five and twenty hundred names, and would have been foure times as many, if that were thought materiall.

The matter in the Petition is of high import : but your Petitioners themselves are all of them quiet and silent at their owne houses, humbly expecting and praying the resolution of this great *Senate*, upon these their earnest and their hearty desires.

Here is no noyse, no numbers at your doore : they will be neither your trouble nor your jealousie ; for I doe not know of any one of them this day in the Town : So much they do asse in the goodnesse of their Petition, and the justice of in this House.

If now you want any of them here, to make avowance of their Petition, I am their servant. I doe appeare for them and for my selfe, and am ready to avow this Petition, in their names, and in mine own.

Nothing doubting, but fully confident, that I may justly say of the present usage of the Hierarchy in the Church of England, as once the Pope (Pope Adrianas I remember) said of the Clergy in his time : *Aversio capitis ad plantam pedis, nihil est sanum in toto ordine ecclesiastico.*

*I beseech you read the Petition, regard us
and relieve us.*

The Petition it selfe speakes thus :

To the Honourable the Commons House
of Parliament.

The humble Petition of many the inhabitants within
His Majesties County of Kent.

Most humbly shewing, That by sad experience we doe daily finde the government in the Church of England, by Archbishops, Lord-bishops, Deanes, and Archdeacons, with their Courts, Iurisdicktions, and Administrations, by them and their inferiour Officers, to be very dangerous, both to the Church and Common-wealth, and to be the occasion of manifold grievances unto his Majesties Subjells, in their consciences, liberties, and estates, and likely to be fatall unto us in the continuance thereof. The dangerous

dangerous effects of which Lordly power in them, have appeared in these particulars following

1. They doe with a hard hand over-rule all other Admistrers, subjecting them to their cruell authority.
2. They do suspend, punish, and deprive many godly, religious, and painfull Ministers, upon slight and upon no grounds: whilst in the meane time, few of them doe preach the word of God themselves, and that but seldome. But they do restraine the painfull preaching of others, both for Lectures, and for afternoon Sermons on the Sabbath day.
3. They do countenance and have of late encouraged Papists, Priests, and Arminian both Rookes and persons.
4. They hinder good and godly bookes to be printed: yet they do licence to be published, many Popish, Armenian, and other dangerous tenents.
5. They have deformed our Churches, with Popish pictures and snized them with Romish Altars.
6. They have of late extolled and commended much the Church of Rome, denying the Pope to be Antichrist: affirming the Church of Rome to bee a true Church in fundamentals.
7. They have praetised and inforced antiquated and obsolete Ceremonies, as standing at the Hymnes at Gloria Patri, and turning to the East at severall parts of the Divine Service, bowing to the Altar, which they tearme the place of Gods residence upon earth: the reading of a second service at the Altar, and denying the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist to such as have not come up to a new (st Raile before the Altar.
8. They have made and contrived illegal Canons and Constitutions, and framed a most pernitious and desperate oath: an oath of covenant and confederacy for their own Hierarchicall greatnesse, besides many other dangerous and pernicious passages in the said Canons.
9. They doe dispencc with plurality of Benefices: they do both prohibit and grant Marriages, neither of them by the rule of Law or Conscience, but do prohibite that they may grant, and grant that they may have money.
10. They have procured a licentious liberty for the Lords Day, but have pressed the strict observacion of Saints holidays, and do punish, suspend, downgrade, deprive godly Ministers for not publishing a Book for liberty of sports on the Sabbath day.
11. They do generally abuse the great ordinance of Excommunication, making sometimes a gaine of it, to the great discomfort of many poor soules, who for want of money can get no absolution.
12. They claime their Office and jurisdiction to be jure divino, and doe exercise

exercise the same: (contrary to Law) in their owne names, and under their own Seales.

13. They receive and take upon them temporall honours, dignities, places, and offices in the Common-wealth, as if it were lawfull for them to use both Swords.

14 They take cognizance in their Courts and elsewhere of matters determinable at the Common Law.

15. They put Ministers upon Parishes, without the patron, and without the peoples consent.

16 They doe yearly impose oaths upon Churchwardens, to the most apparent danger of filling the Land with periury.

17. They doe exercise oathes ex officio in the nature of an Inquisition, even into the thoughts of men.

18. They have apprehended men by Pursivants, without citation or mis-sives first sent: they break up mens houses and studies, taking away what they please.

19. They do awe the Judges of the Land with their greatnesse, to the inhibiting of prohibitions, and hindring of habeas Corpus when it is due.

20. They are strongly suspected to be confederate with the Roman party in this Land, and with them to be authors, contrivers or consenters to the present commotions in the North, and the rather because of a contribution by the Clergy, and by the Papists in the last yeer, 1639. and because of an ill-named benevolence of six Subsidies granted or intended to be granted this present yeare 1640. thereby and with these moneyes to engage (as much as in them lay) the two Nations into blood.

It is therefore humbly and earnestly prayed, that this Hierarchicall power may be totally abrogated, if the wisdom of this Honourable House, shall find that it cannot be maintained by Gods Word, and to his glory.

And we your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

S E C T. V.

VPon occasion of what I said of the late Canons, I might easily have pressed the abolition of the founders, and of the whole order of prelacy: And surely, if it had been my wish, I would (as others) have so exprest my self. Here followes my argument against these Canons, and that chiefly aimed against the founders of them: yet nothing of Root and Branch therein.

14. Decemb. 1642

M. Speaker,

THat the late Canons are invalidous, it will easily appeare, and that they are so originally in the foundation, or rather in the founders of them, I will assume upon my selfe to demonstrate, having first intimated my sense by way of preparative.

The Pope (as they say) hath a triple Crowne, answerable thereunto, and to support that, he pretends to have a three-fold Law. The first is, *jus divinum*, *Episcopacy by divine right*; and this he would have you thinke to be the Coronet neate his head, that which doth circle and secure his power. Our Bishops have (in an unlucky time) entred their plea and pretended title to this Crowne, *Episcopacy by Divine right*.

The second is *Jus humanum*, *Constantins donation*, the gift of indulgent Princes; temporall power. This Law belongs to his second, or his middle Crowne; already also pleaded for by our Prelates in print.

These two Crownes being obtained, he (the Pope) doth frame and make his third Crown himselfe, and sets that up most, upon the top—This Crowne also hath its Law, and that is *Jus canonicum*, the Canon law, of more use unto his Popeship then both the other—Iust so our Prelates from the pretended divinity of their Episcopacy, and from the temporall power granted by our Princes they would now obtrude a new *Canon Law* upon us.

They have charged their *Canons* at us to the full, and never fearing that ever they would recoyle back into a Parliament they have rammed a prodigious ungodly oath into them.

The illegality and invalidity of these Canons (as I conceive) is easily discoverable by one short question, *viz.* what doe you call the meeting wherein they were made? give it a name to know it by: who can frame his argument aright, unlesse he can first tell against what he is to argue? would you confute the *Convocation*? they were a *holy Synod*: would you argue against the *Synod*? why they were *commissioners*: would you dispute the *Commission*? they will mingle all powers together, and answer that they were some fourth thing, that wee neither know nor imagine.

Quo tenore nodo mutantem Protra? unlesse they will unriddle themselves, and owne what they were, we may prosecute, but hardly with concludent arguments. Yer I venture.

I have

I have conferred with some of the founders of these new Canons, but I profess clearly, that I could never yet meet with any one of that assembly, who could (in behalfe of their meeting) well answer mee the first question in the Catechisme, what is your name? Alas they are parted before they know what they were when they were together.

The sum of the severall answers, that I have received, doth amount to this. They were a *Convocationall--Synodicall--Assembly of Commissioners*, indeed a three-fold *Chimera*, a monster to our Lawes, a *Cerberus* to our Religion.

A strange *Commission* wherein no one Commissioners name is to be found. A strange Convocation that lived when the Parliament was dead: A strange *Holy Synod* where one part never saw, never conferred with the other.—But indeed what use or need of conference, if that be true of these Canons, which I read of the former ones, *Notum est Canonum formati Lambetha, priusquam in Synodo ventilentur.*

Parker.
Politt:

Thus farre preparatory; I proceed to my argument, whereby to manifest the invalidity of these Canons, not borrowing but avoyding what hath formerly bene instanced by others.

I will neither inveigh upon them as unnamed *Commissioners*, nor in firme them the worke of a dead *Convocation*; But will take them in the capacity of their owne affected title of a *Synod*. Such they bragged themselves to be whilst they sate: such they stile themselves in the Title page of these (never to be canonized) Canons.—The words are—*Canons treated upon in Convocation--agreed upon in Synod.*

This treating in one capacity and agreeing in another; is a new mould to cast Canons in, never used before. Canons bred in a Convocation, borne in a Synod. Thus although we find not one good father, here are yet two mothers to one ill favoured child; never knowne before, nor imagined but of *Bacchus*, whom the Poets calls among other attributes

—*Solumq; bimastrem.*

I proceed: if their meeting be a Synod, either it is so by *Donation*, by *Election*, or only by *Vsurpation*.

Donation from the King: is this title and authority, indulged to them by His Majesty? Looke through all His Highnesse Letters Patent, and they are not once saluted with the ambitious title of a *Synod*. Yet in the Canons they have assumed it severeteene times, it is their own pride, their owne presumption.

The King hath not done it, (pardon me) no Prince ever did it or can doe it; no power Regall, Imperiall, or Papall did ever attempt it to or-
daine.

daine that *William*, and *Richard*, *Matthew* and *John*, &c. and I know not who more, being met and assembled upon other summons shall by a *Commission* be on a sudden translated from what they were, into an unthought of *Nationall Synod*, without voice or choise of any man to bee concerned: this never was done, this never can be well done.

As for due election for such meetings, this indeed is or ought to be of the true esse to a Legitimate *Synod*. But due election made up by voyces is so much a stranger to this *Synod*, that their fatherhoods will confesse that they were never trusted to this *Synod*, as a *Synod* by any, either of the Clergy or of the Laity.

Concerning the choise of a few of them, and but a few (about 50. as I guesse) chosen to the Convocation house, that choice will never render them a lawfull *Synod*, untill they can prove *metamorphosis* and *Transubstantiation*.-- For the votes of all their choosers upon expiration of the Convocation house returned back home to every mans bosome from whence they breathed. So that if you will enlive the same men to bee now *Synodall*, who were before but Convocationall, you must renew the old *Pythagorean Transmigration*, for they want the breath and life of an election. A new one you have not, and the old one is not to be had but by *μετεμίσχυνσις*.

Besides I doe affirme and shall approve, that the Electors to a *Convocation* and to a *Synod* are not all one. The Clergy only doe, and of right only ought to choose unto the Convocation house. The reason; wee of the Laity (so they will call us) have our House of Commons where our Trustees by vertue of our voyces doe sit at the same time. But in the choice unto a *Synod*, we who must be bound by the determinations of the *Synod*, ought also to bee interested in the parties determining. This is cleare enough in reason, and will be better cleared presently.

Of *Synods* I find five severall sorts, first a generall or universall *Synod*; secondly, Patriarchicall; thirdly, Nationall; fourthly, Provinciaall; fifthly, a Diocesan *Synod*. I passe by the two first and last, as not pertinent to this time and affaire. Concerning Provinciaall and Nationall *Synods* a word or two; if I knew which to call their latemeeting. They run on riddles: and I want an *Oedipus* at every turne.

These *Canons*, were they forged in one *Synod Nationall*, or in two *Provinciaall*? were they two *Provinciaall Synods*? how then come their Acts and Canons to be embodied together? how comes it to passe that all the *Canons* speake in the singular number? The *Synod*; The *holy Synod*; The *sacred Synod*. Sacred will now be hardly granted, unlesse as the Poet doth--*Antrisacra fames*.

Was it then but one? was it a *Nationall Synod*? Why the Provinces (we all know) never did convene, they never met together. Look on the representative body of the Comons of this whole Land; every one within the same walls hearing every ones argument, and thereupon mending, altering, (and as occasion is) correcting his owne judgement, and afterwards (*apostrophos*) joyning in unanimous consent. And if the able members of the North beyond *Trent* were divided from the rest, there would be quickly found a want of their worth and weight, nor could their sitting at the same time at *York*, make the rest a House of Commons here, for the whole Kingdome must be represented entire.

But as we have done the Title *Synod*, so let us give them the attribute Nationall, a *Nationall Synod*, and yet see how inconsistent and invalidous they are.

The very esse of every Synod doth subsist in a double foundation. *Fundamentum materiale* and *fundamentum formale* — The due materials of a *Synod* are the interiour qualities and indowments of the persons, whereof the *Synod* consisteth, not their externall dignities and promotions. And therefore every man thus qualified is as capable to be of the *Synod*, as any *Deane* or *Archdeacon* of them all.

The *fundamentum formale*, is *Delegatio ab ecclesia & debita electio*. A due choyce to be made by all that are or shall be concerned in the determinations of the *Synod*: and this trust of choyce may fall upon another man, as well and as soone as upon *Deane* or *Archdeacon*.

I will not quarrell the want of able parts in any members of that late doubtfull dangerous meeting: I grant them the materials of a true *Synod*, but will insist only upon the second, want of forme, want of due election: which if they want, the most virtuall and most obliging tie, and the most binding part is wanting.

That they had no such election, we need not goe forth to prove; No one man in the Kingdome can say that he gave a voice to the election of any one *Dean* or *Archdeacon* to sit for him in that *Synod*, nor were the *Clarkes* chosen by all who were to bee bound. So then there remaineth only to be proved this. That such election of persons, by all persons to be concerned in the Decrees, and Canons, is necessary to the constituting of a lawfull *Synod*; which is all one as to say, that the elections to a *Synod* ought to be, both by the Clergy and the laity.

Mr. Speaker. I will trouble you but with one reason, and a very few instances, all briefly,

The Acts and Canons of every Lawfull Nationall Councell or Synod, ought to bind the whole Nation, both Laity and Clergy; But this can-

not be reasonable and just, if the Laity be excluded both from consultation, and from choice of consulters. The reason is plaine. It is a ground in nature, and so confessed upon this very case by D. Field, who hath it out of Occam --- *quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debet*. And this is so cleare a maxim, that in this very sense also; for the Laity to be present at Councils, this very *Aphorismo* is used by the Pope in his owne glosse upon the Canonist Gratian. *Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debet*. Surely our Clergy are much too high, if herein they would cutt goe the very Canons of the Papall Synods, and conclude that which shall bind all, where all are not admitted to treat, neither by themselves nor by proxy.

Now the benefit of this Law of nature, and of reason (as Dr. Field calleth it) we claim. The present *Canons* doe concerne us. I may bee a Church-warden, my sonne may be a Master of Art; then must I present upon their yet unborne articles, and he must sweare their oath of Covenant---well, they were never trusted by us unto a Synod; and therefore ought not to tie us up un-heard, it is against *Nature* and *Reason*.

To second this Argument by instance in prooffe of practise, I shall produce a few, and but a few of many examples and authorities: the originals I cannot now command, but must be content to name a few extracts, which by way of transcript doe walke along with my *vade mecum*.

The point that I would establish is this, that in *Synods* and *Councils*, where Lay men are concerned in the Decrees, there the Laity may bee present to consult, if not also to decide the conclusions. I will but point out I will not enlarge to the vouching every place *verbatim*; Dr. Field, Dr. Fulke, Goulartius are cleare and positive in this point.

Our Statutes for correcting and gathering together the former *Canons* into a new body, doe clearly evidence this unto us; in all which there is an equall proportion mixed, sixteen of the Clergy, and as many of the Laity.

The Author of the History of *Trent* is frequent in this point, adding this for a reason, that in a *generall Council*, the universall Church cannot be represented, if the Laity be excluded. So by the rule *a paribus*, The reason holdeth the same, a *Nationall Council* cannot represent a Nation, if but one degree of men, men of one quality and capacity be only present, and the rest altogether excluded.

Gratian, the Canonist, doth allow the Laity to be present, especially in such Councils as doe treat of faith, and for prooffe doth vouch Pope Nicholas.

I will omit many proofs of many Emperours being personally present and president in many Councils, by themselves and sometimes by their Vicegerents, as *Marcellinus, Candidianus, Marrianus, &c.* yet even this is argumentative for us, and a preservative of our right, for the Laity to be present.

The Greeke Historians are so plentifull, that I will only name them. *Theodoret. l. 5. c. 9. Eusebius de vita Constantini. l. 3. c. 9. & 10. Sozomen. l. 1. c. 16. & 17. Niceph. Callistus. l. 8. c. 15. Socrates. l. 1. c. 5. & l. 6. c. 2; Evagrius Scholast. l. 2. c. 4. c. 27.* Among the Latine Fathers *Cyprian* is very plentifull.

As for Councils, looke,

Nice 1. vouched by *Eusebius de vita Constantini*---4. conc. *Carthag.* cited by *Gratian*.--The Council of *Eliberis* in Spain. Council of *Constantinople* in *Theodoret*.--Council of *Constance*; And the second of *Nice*.---where it is said of the Imperiall Lady, the famous *Pulcheria Augusta*, that *ipsa per semetipsam in sancta quarta Synodo sedet*, which fourth Synod was with *Martianus* the Emperour.

To these I adde the very *Ordo celebrandi consilia* written by *Isidor*, and like unto the *Modus tenendi Parliamentum*.

Thus much for humane testimony. I have done with my hasty notes, only I adde this, and I beseech you to intend it.

Whilest wee of the Laity had our power and voices to choose our owne Ministers, and our owne Bishops (which was our ancient right, constantly allowed and practised in the best Primitive times, whereof the proofes are yet evident enough) so long (I say) we might trust them in a Synod) whom we first had truited to direct and guide our soules in all the ministeriall function.---But to conclude us up now, and shut us out contrary to the Law of *Nature* and *Reason*, contrary to ancient usages: not to admit us to determination, nay to exclude us from consultation, and after all to take from us all assent both in choyce and in refusal of Pastors to be set over us, and yet to bind us by decrees so made, may prove (I feare) no lesse then soule-tyrannie. I doe not presse the deserved right of our choyce of Pastors: but one thing more, lend me patience to adde as a supreme *Coronis* to all that I have said for right of Laity in Synods.

Looke I beseech you in the first Synod that ever was held in the Christian Church, and that for so great and singular a cause, as never was occasion for the like in the world before or since: you have it in the first of the *Acts* of the holy Apostles, and it is for the choyce of a new Apostle. There were in this Synod and of this Synod, the eleven Apo-

to be prevented, for the further clearing whereof, observe (I pray) the next *verse* 13. where in like manner, it is said of *Paul* and *Barnabas* *παρὰ τὴν ἀσπασιν αὐτῶν*. And after they held their peace, Ergo they had spoken. And therefore the Frier, who collected together a body of Councils (*Peter Crabbe, the German*) doth even from this place infer a consent of the people saying, *Tacuit omnis multitudo consensuens Petro*.

But if you would have this more clearly evidenced beyond all exceptions, I pray take notice of the resolution of this *Synod*, *verse* 22. Then pleased it the Apostles and Elders with the whole Church. With the whole Church, what is that? The blessed Apostles and their fellow-labourers did not engrosse, and (as our Church-men affect to do) usurp and monopolize the word Church, as proper onely to Church-men. — No you shall find it even in the *Epigraph* of the Canons and Decrees of this true, holy, and sacred *Synod*, that the despised Laity are in these Canons conjoynd with the blessed Apostles, although Pope and Patriarch, Primate and Metropolitan, Archbishop and Bishops, yea even downe to Deane and Archdeacon, (I have heard it) doe despise the thought of admitting the Laity: I do not say to decision, but even to Consultation, nay to the very choyce of consulters in Religion: nay lower even so much as to have a negative power, when a man of inability, and of ill life is obtruded upon them; I proceed, for I would not *orare*, but *probare*, looke *verse* 23. They that were present had voyce, they who voyced the *Canons*, joynd in the decree, and sending the decree unto *Antioch*, The words are thus, *The Apostles, and Elders, and Brethren send greeting to the Brethren which are in Antioch, &c.* Here the Brethren at *Hiernusalem* (are with the Apostles & the Elders) actors in, and authours of the *Canons* in this Councell agreed. There is no evasion, no elusion to bee had, unlesse you can prove that all the Brethren in *Antioch* to whom these Brethren in *Hiernusalem* did write, were onely Clergy men.

Which if you should affirm, our Clergy will hardly bee pleased with you, for they must then be of the *multitudo* (not a speciall lot) for *Barnabas* and *Paul* did deliver this Epistle (being the decree of this *Synod*) to the *multitudo τῶν ἀδελφῶν* as it is found in the 30. *verse*. And when they had gathered the *multitudo* together, they delivered the Epistle.

Thus much in way of pursuit for this one argument, that no Canons can bind the Laity, where we have no voyce of our owne, nor choyce of the Clergy persons who doe found them, nor assent in the suscepcion of them after they are framed. *Quod omnes taught, ab omnibus tractari debet.*

Mr. Speaker, It remains as a *Wish*, that every member of that meeting,

ting, who voted these exorbitant Canons, should come severally to the Barre of the Parliament House, with a Canon booke in his hand, and there unlesse hee can answer his *Catechisme* (as I called it) and shew what is the name of their meeting, and (unlesse hee can manifest that the Laity are no part of the Church) *Conceptis verbis* in such expresse termes as that House should thinke fit, to abjure his owne ill-begotten issue, or else be commanded to give fire to his owne Canons.

SECT. VI.

Vpon my motion *November 23* it pleased the grand Committee for Religion, to appoint a Subcommittee, to receive complaints from oppressed Ministers, which Subcommittee was shortly after made a Committee by order of the House. It pleased the Gentlemen of this Committee to put the honour and the burden of the chaire upon mee: from hence severall Reports have beene delivered in, I shall onely trouble the Reader with the first of them.

18. Decemb. 1640.

Mr. White,

His grand Committee for Religion did authorize a Sub-committee (among other things) to take into consideration, the unjust sufferings of good Ministers oppressed by the cruell-used authority of Hierarchical Rulers.

In this (and in other points) wee have entred upon many particulars, we have matured and perfected but one. If wee had lesse worke, you should (before this time) have had mores but complaints crowd in so fast upon us, that the very plenty of them retards their issue.

The present Report which I am to make unto you is concerning Mr. *Wilkinson*, a Barchellor in Divinity, and a man in whose character doe concur Learning, Piety, Industry, Modesty.

Two hardships have beene put upon him: one at the time when hee presented himselfe to receive orders: and that was this.

The Bishop of *Oxford*s Chaplen (*Mr. Eulham*) being the examiner B. Ban- (for Bishops now come to doe Bishops worke: it belongs to himselfe) *craft*. hee propoundeth foure questions to Mr. *Wilkinson*, not taken out of the depth of Divinity, but fitly chosen to discover how affections doe stand to be novellized by the mutability of the present times.

The Questions were these.

1. *whether hath the Church authority in matters of faith?*
2. *May the King beoke of sports, (to some impios Bishops have abused our pious King, to call their contrivance his Majesties booke) may this bee read in the Church without offence?*
3. *Is*

3. Is bowing to or before the Altar lawfull?

4. Is bowing at the Name of Jesus lawfull?

The Doctrine of the first affirmed, will bring a dangerous influence upon our belief by subjecting our faith to humane resolutions. The other three are disciplinarian in the present way of Novellisme.

As soone as Mr. *Wilkinson* heard these questions, *Lupum auribus*, hee had a Wolfe by the Eares. And because unto these captious interrogatories, hee could not make a peremptory answer, Mr. *Fulham* would not present your Petitioner to the Bishop for ordination.

Thus you see (Mr. *White*) a new way of Simony: Imposition of hands is to bee sold, if not for money, yet to make a side, a party, a faction. They will not confer Orders, but upon such as will come in and make party with them in their new practices, as is evident by these questions. Take this in this kind, as a leading case, a first complaint, more are coming; and Mr. *Wilkinson* shall have the poore common comfort.

Solamen miseris socios habuisse. —

I proceed to his second sufferance, which was by the Vice-chancellour of *Oxford*, for a Sermon preached in his course at *S. Marys* in *Oxford*. Short to make, hee preached better, then they were willing to heare: the Sermon fell into the eares of a captious Auditor. For this Sermon, hee stands now suspended by the Vice-chancellour from all the spirituall promotion that hee had, which was onely the reading of a Divinity lecture in *Magdalen-hall*.

The Committee required the Vice-chancellour to send unto us the Sermon with his exceptions in writing. They were brought, and being received, they are three in number: great, and weighty in the accusation: none at all in proofe. Nay (Mr. *White*) there is nothing presented unto us, wherein to find a colour or a shadow, whereby to make the accusation semblable, and consequently the suspension just. *Ecquis innocens erit, si accusare suffecerit?*

The particulars insisted upon, pickt and chosen out of that Sermon by the Vice-chancellor are three: every one a hainous charge, and the first founding little lesse then treason. Give mee leave to read them, as Mr. Vicechancellor hath sent them in writing.

1. Our religious Sovereigne, and his pious Government, is seditiously defamed, as if his Majesty were little better then the old Pagan persecutors or then *Queene Mary*.

2. The Government of the Church and Univerſity is unjustly traduced.

3. Men of learning and piety, conformable to the publick government, are unobviously slandered.

The least of these being duly proved, will make him worthy of suspension: but if *M. Wilkinson* be guilty of the first, he is not worthy to live. The truth is, the Vice-chancellor hath learned ~~another~~ *crimination*: and saying in proofe, hath only fouled himselfe. Your Sub-committee, upon due consideration of the cause and circumstance, have hereupon unanimously voted, that *M. Wilkinson* is free from all and every of these exceptions, made against his Sermon by the Vice-chancellor. We are all of opinion that there is nothing therein that deserves *Notam censuram, nedum lituram judicis*.

If (*M. White*) there be in a Sermon (as there ought to be *aliquid mor-
daci veritatis*, shall the Preacher, be for this suspended? His mouth shut
up for preaching truth boldly? It is contrary to their commission, for
(*Sir*) they have a great Charter to speake freely: it is warranted unto
them *Jure divino*, Saint Paul doth own it, in his instruction of *Timothy*, ^{2 Tim. 4.2}
The words are, *I charge thee before God, and the Lord Iesus Christ, preach
the word, bee instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort—For
the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine.* Here is our case
exactly. Here was reproofe; here was exhortation; here was preaching
out of season, to unwilling or to unprepared hearers: and yet in season,
the Theme was necessary, and fitted to their want of zeale: But the
only fault was, that *the time is come when sound Doctrine will not be endured*.
Thus the Committee found it: thus have I faithfully, but imperfectly,
reported it, and do now subjoyne the opinion and request of your trustees
to this grand Committee.

M. Wilkinson is innocent and free from this accusation. He had just
cause to petition. The Vice-chancellor hath been without cause, nay a-
gainst cause, rigid and oppressive. The Sermon deserved thanks. The
preacher received injuries. His suspension to be taken off. The retracting
and dissolving whereof ought to bee as publike as was the inflicting
thereof.

One word more I ask leave to add, and I hope I shall not therein erre
from the sence of the Committee, though indeed I received it not in com-
mand to be joynd to the Report. This businesse, *M. White*, is spread into
a wide and ample notice: two great Primats have appeared in it, and that
with different, perhaps contrariant sences, sences as distant as *Lambeth*
and *Armagh*. The Vice-chancellor saith, that the Preacher was censured
by the most Reverend Lord Primate of Ireland, who heard him, so bee a bold
or rash fellow for it. Hereupon I attended that learned, pious, and pain-
full Primate, and did read these words of the Vice-chancellor unto him.
His answer was, that he takes it as an *Aspersio* upon him. He remembers
the Sermon, and commends it.

This is an additionall to the Report, and with this I leave M. Vice-chancellor, and the Bishops Chaplen (*Fulham*) to the wisdom and consideration of this grand Committee.

S E C T. VII.

MY next walke was in a hazardous way, and although it was not so lodg'd in my memory, as that in due season I could make use of it (as I intended) publicly in the House ; yet being since gone forth without my appointment, into print, I doe now own it for my fence, untill I be better instructed, as I was promised long since, by a Cathedral friend of mine, but do now despaire to see performed.

The Theam is, that secular jurisdiction ought not to be held by such as are of the Clergy function, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἐξουσία, &c. They reigned to themselves* (saith the Lord) *and not by me: they have bin Princes, & I know it not.*

The words of that short passage were these.

OUr Lord and Saviour (blessed for ever) being indeed a King, *Pilate* (his Iudge) seemeth to start, and be in feare at that great title : Although our Saviour had told him saying, *a My kingdome is not of this world. Pilate (still in feare) sought to release him,* but more in feare of *Cæsar* (the king at that time of this world) he adjudged the *Lord of life to death,* yet honorably writeth his Title, *c This is Jesus King of the Jews.* This title he then was crown'd withall, when life and death divided his soule and body asunder ; that in a manner it may be said he never was a king indeed, untill hee was out of this world.

If he who was our *a Lord and Master*, had not this worlds royalty, whence cometh that the Pope is Crowned ? and his Cardinals in Purple ? whence have our Bishops their Lordships ? and as themselves call it *b Iura regalia*, their royalty and rites of Baronage ?

It may prove a disquisition deep and dangerous, yet I desire (without envy to their pomp or persons) to wade so farre as may satisfie a minde that loves truth, and desires to be led by it : and this with all possible brevity. There hath been a happy and blessed reformation of our Church, God send a better, and a more severe reformation of our Church-men, or else our Church is now in danger to be deformed againe.

The state of this inquiry may be this, *viz.* Whether the Ministers of Christs Kingdome may receive worldly titles, and execute worldly Offices and powers ? or more generally thus : Whether a Clergy-man may *se-mel & simul*, be both a Clergy-man and a Lay-man, in power, office and authority over other men in both kinds ?

"Go we to the fountaine head, ^c There was a strife among them (the
 "Apostles) which of them should be accounted the greatest; which ^{Luke 22.}
 "of the twelve soever began this emulation of power. Certaine it ^{24.}
 "is, that the two sonnes of Zebedee, James and John with their Mo- ^{b Mat. 20.}
 "ther, first presumed to come and aske the highest places of ho- ^{20.}
 "nour (next to the very Throne) in the Kingdome of Christ; which
 "Kingdome was conceived by them shortly after to be raised in the
 "splendor of this World. This is genuinely gathered from this ve-
 "ry story, generally confessed, and clearely confirmed in the Histo-
 "ry of the Acts, where the Apostles doe aske our Saviour, even ^{c Act. 1. 6.}
 "after his resurrection, saying, ^{b Lord wilt thou at this time restore}
 "*against thy Kingdome to Israel?* Therefore to these two brethren
 "and their mother, so much mistaken in the nature of his Kingdome
 "he maketh answer, ^{c Ye know not what you aske.} He presently shew- ^{d Mat. 20.}
 "eth the entertainment of his Kingdome, *A cup to drinke of*, that ^{22.}
 "many were like to pray might passe from them; but they answer
 "they are able to drinke thereof. This their answer as it proved true
 "in all the twelve Apostles, so by the providence of God, one
 "of these two brothers, ^{d James} was the first of the rest (as some ^{e Act. 12. 2.}
 "doe gather) who dranke the cup of Martyrdome, and as some
 "thinke, John was the last of the Apostles.

"Equals look awry on the ambition of their fellowes. These
 "two were vaine in their high request, and the other ten murmured
 "at their presumption, ^{d They were moved with indignation}, saith Saint ^{f Mat. 20.}
 "Matthew, ^{c They began to be much displeased}, saith Saint Mark. But ^{24.}
 "by this happy error of these two Apostles, our Saviour takes oc- ^{b Mat. 10.}
 "casion to instruct them, and the other ten, and in them all other ^{41.}
 "Ministers belonging unto him, how farre different the pastorall ^{f Mat. 20.}
 "care of his Church, is from the power which governeth in Com- ^{25.}
 "mon-wealths.

"Hereupon the Sonne of God calleth unto him all the twelve ^{k Mar. 10.}
 "Apostles, saying, ^{i Ye know that the Princes of the Gentiles exercise}
 "dominion, &c. ^{24.} ^{g Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the} ^{l Luke 21.}
 "Gentiles exercise Lordships, &c. ^{h The Kings of the Gentiles exercise Lord-}
 "ship, &c. ^{25.} ^{m Oὗτος δὲ ἐστὶν ἰσχυρὸς.} But it shall not be so among you. This ^{n Mat. 20.}
 "is a Statute not to be repealed. This is spoken authoritative & defini- ^{28.}
 "tively, it is the determinate Law of a just authority. A Canon or- ^{o Marke 10.}
 "dained and irrevocably fixed by the wisdom of God. Confirmed ^{45.}
 "by an example above all argument. ^{i For the Sonne of Man came not}
 "to be ministered unto, but to Minister. ^{k I am among you as he that serveth.} ^{22.}
 "And before this he had taught them, that the ^{l Disciple is not above} ^{24.}
 "his Master. ^{m I have given you an example, that you also should do likewise.} ^{24.} ^{1 Ioh. 13. 15}

" have done to you, verily, verily, the Servant is not greater then the Lord.

" This ministry being thus performed in humility, and without worldly titles, The Ministers shall be then exalted. Our blessed Saviour in expresse words following, saith unto them, ^a I appoint unto you a Kingdome (but addeth) as my Father hath appointed me. Now his owne Kingdome is spirituall, or as himselfe said unto Pilate, not of this World. Let them then renounce temporall, and they shall have spirituall honour. But some of the Clergy would (it seemes) confound both Kingdomes, being ambitious to inherit Glory in the Kingdome of Grace. I feare that there are some Bishops doe not know how sublime a vertue Christian humility is; how full of Honour.

^b Every *Presbyter* must be *ut vester*, ^b Let the greatest be as the youngest, that is the way to be a right Elder, he must be *ut servus*, ^c as he that serveth, that is the way to be ministered unto. He must be ^d *ut discipulus* a servant, that he may be *ut dominus* a prime or cheife. He must ^e be *ut minister* a Minister, that hee may be *ut princeps* a great one. These antitheses our Saviour hath placed in the text upon the former occasion.

From hence, may well be argued as a Corollary, to these undoubted premises, that no Minister of the Gospell can lawfully assume, hold, or exercise that power which by the Lord of the Gospell is inhibited to his Ministers. But our Saviour *Iesus Christ* (Lord and onely head of his Church) hath inhibited all temporall Lordship, Magistracy and Dominion unto his servants, in the lot of his Clergy. Therefore no Minister of this Gospell may hold or exercise temporall Lordship or Dominion.

" These words *Quia servus* &c. I shall not be so among you, doe so streighen the Bishops Miter, that they sit unease on their heads: to suffice and as it were to line them for their ease; the Bishops that are and would be all the papall, and some of the Protestant doe quilt a gentler sence into these words then can beare analogy with the text. They search the original and pretended to finde another sence in our Saviours sentence.

" The Text sayes that *the Lords of the Gentiles are called gracious Lords* and *Evangelistae* (not tyrants but) *benefactors*, a title fit for the best Princes. And yet this Text (say they) forbids not unto Clergy men, and use and exercise of worldly titles, power, offices, dignities, Commands, dominion, Lordships, &c. but the abuse of them: domineering and tyrannizing with them, not exercising

"word ~~καταπίπτει~~ which they would have taken in the worst sense of
 "exorbitant power," even for Tyranny. So then, they would teach
 "us, that, Lord it they may, and Lord it they may not: Lord it they
 "may with all pompe, state, power; Lord it they may not, with pride,
 "vanity, and oppression. But I shall easily prove this interpretation to
 "be inconstant with the scope and analogy of the Context.

"Will they frame their argument from the verbe ~~καταπίπτει~~ to be a
 "Lord, or to rule? or from the preposition ~~κατά~~, added and united there-
 "unto? neither will serve. And if the pompe of our Prelates cannot a-
 "voyd the power of this text, they are downe for ever. Let me therefore
 "scan it to the full.

"First, ~~Κυριεύειν~~ to be a Lord, or to have rule or Lordship, is never
 "properly taken in that ill sence which they would here create, as ha-
 "ving unjust, and oppressive power. It is derived from the usuall and
 "most frequent title of our Lord and Saviour, whom the holy Scrip-
 "ture so often salureth ~~Κύριε~~ Lord. Here is no shadow for Tyranny.

"The true sence of ~~κυριεύειν~~ is *authoritatem habens* one having autho-
 "rity: being derived from ~~αὐτοῦ~~ authority which is knowne to be ap-
 "proved and ordained by God himselve from whom all lawfull au-
 "thority is derived. Marke how well this word is senced through all
 "Authors: Demosthenes calleth the heads and chiefe of the Citie
 "Τὰ κύρια καὶ πόλει. A law in force and principall authority is called by
 "Æschines ~~κύριον~~ ~~τύπον~~. Galen calleth the chiefe and principall members
 "of a mans body ~~κύρια μέρη τοῦ σώματος~~, yet one member doth not ty-
 "rannize over another. Aristotle hath a *Κύρια ἐστὶν propria virtus*, (that
 "is,) a vertue properly or principally so called. ~~Αὐτοκράτωρ~~ is one that
 "is Lord or Master of himselve, not one that domineers over himselve.
 "Κύριοι ἡμεῖς ^b The Lords say. ~~Κυριεύειν~~ ^c The Lords Supper, ^d Saint
 "Paul saith that ^d The Law hath dominion over a man so long as hee liveth,
 "he doth not meane that the Law is a Tyrant, yet the word is ~~ἐκείνου~~
 "~~κυριεύει~~ Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might ^e bee
 "Lord both of the living and the dead: ~~κυριεύειν~~ ^f ~~ἐκείνου~~ From
 "Κύριος Lord, commeth ~~Κυριεύειν~~ Lordship, foure times mentioned by
 "the holy Apostles, but never taxed as a power tending to Tyranny,
 "but to be obeyed in them who duly are therewith invested, as may be
 "seen. Eph. 1. 21. Colos. 1. 16. 2 Pet. 2. 10. and Jude 8.) Clearly then
 "in ~~κυριεύειν~~ there is no hint of usurpation or of oppressive and tyran-
 "nicall power. If there be, we are then well warned to beware of our
 "Bishops, who not onely owne the title ~~Κύριε~~, but expressly plead for
 "it, as the ^f Bishop of Exeter in his la ^e Episcopacy.

"Secondly, ~~καταπίπτειν~~ the very word (used by Saint Matthew and ^{part. 2.}

“ forbiddeth his Apostles, to exercise Dominion or Lordship is a compounded word of two, $\kappa\tau\iota$ and $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota\upsilon$. That is, to rule as one that hath authority. I may render it to be, or to behave ones selfe ($\kappa\tau\iota$ *juxta Secundum*) according as one that hath authority.

“ This preposition in words compounded hath sometimes a signification of his own, sometimes none at all, as in $\kappa\tau\alpha\delta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\omega$, &c. clearly it hath no speciall signification in this $\kappa\tau\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota\upsilon$; much lesse a force so exegeticall as to draw the lawfull power of $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ into the exorbitancy of a tyranny. That it hath no force here, is by this apparent, for that the speech of our Saviour recorded by the holy Ghost in S. *Matthew* and S. *Mark* by $\kappa\tau\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ and by $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\chi\eta\sigma\iota\sigma\iota$ are rendred by the same spirit in S. *Luke*, $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ and $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\iota\varsigma$. So that plainly you must not pretend tyrannizing to be meant in the sence of one place, except you can find it also in both, unlesse you will come to this, that he forbiddeth tyranny in one place, and worldly power in the other, which if you doe, you grant the question.

“ This is enough alone; yet for a further interpretation of $\kappa\tau\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota\upsilon$, look in *Gen.* 1. 28. where God giveth unto man in the time of mans innocency, the rule and dominion over all his creatures, even whilest they all were a very good. The name and word of power in that great Charter granted is $\kappa\tau\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon\sigma\iota$. Now the time of this power granted the person to whom it is granted, the creature al good on whom it was to be exercised, & above all the goodnes of Almighty God who granted it, do exclude all imagination of a tyrannicall power, and admit only of a fatherly mastership over the new creatures of God.

“ The same word is used again (*Phil.* 1 10. 2.) and there applied to our blessed Saviour $\kappa\tau\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου. Rule thou in the midst of thine enemies. *Aquila* hath ἐμπικρῶς Invalde, prevails over thy enemies. *Symmachus*, σὺ δὲ παιδεύεις, do thou correct or instruct thine enemies.

“ If then the frequent and constant sence of both $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ and $\kappa\tau\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota\upsilon$, be onely to have power and authority, civill, temporall, and ordinary dominion, and that all such authority is forbidden them, how poore and weak is that evasion for our Bishops, who would have this speech of our Saviour taken in a forced sence different from all these other places? and would forge a new meaning, as if our Saviour did not here forbid $\kappa\tau\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ but onely $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\chi\eta\sigma\iota$ or $\kappa\tau\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\upsilon\epsilon\iota\upsilon$, not a commanding Lordlines, but a tyrannous use of it; when as it is hereby evident, that Christ having ordained the Aristocracy of twelve, did therein and in his reprehension here take a way those severall benches of honour, and that proud imparity of temporall power which our

" That the former speeches of our Saviour, do destroy the Lordlines
 " of our Prelates, let us confirm it with a farther consideration, which is
 " thus. Our Saviour *Christ* being ^a *the wisdom of God*, must be thought ^a *1 Cor. 1.*
 " to fit and suite his answer to the question and request made unto him ^{24.}
 " by the two Apostles. But what Bishop in defence of his usurped pow-
 " er, dares affirme that two such admirable ^b *Pillars*, as *James* and *John*,
 " should aske of such a Master *iniquam dominationem*, a cruell domini- ^b *Gal. 2. 9.*
 " on over their fellowes, as if the meaning of their request were thus.
 " Master, give us two leave to tyrannize over the other ten! Hee had
 " taught them before, ^c *Blessed are the meeke*, and ^d *Learn of me, for*
 " *I am meeke and lowly in heart*: Can it then be thought that the beloved ^c *Mat. 5. 5.*
 " Disciple and his brother, shall aske of the master of all humility, a ^d *Mat. 20.*
 " tyrannicall power to oppresse their partners? No man hath such a ^{22.}
 " heart of Lead to think, yet there have not wanted foreheads of brasse
 " to affirme so: Certainly, in that Kingdome of Christ, by them as then
 " supposed to be temporall, they desired the honour to shine in civill
 " dignity, and eminency of power and authority, which (no question)
 " they intended to have exercised with all brotherly moderation, yet
 " are they (and I wish our Bishops also were) answered with his repre-
 " hension, first *Ye know not what ye aske*, next with his absolute denyall ^e *Cor. I. 2.*
 " and fortiddince, *ὅχι οὐτως ἔσται*, &c. *It shall not be so among you.* ^{4.}

" Will the practice of Saint *Paul*, and the counsell of *S. Peter* serve
 " for comment to this text? Saint *Paul* saith *ὡς ὑποτασσάμεθα*, *We Lord it not.*
 " *S. Peter* himselfe an Elder to other Elders, exhorteth them to feed the
 " flocks, *ἐπισκοποῦντες* overseeing it: and that not by constraint, *μὴ ὡς*
 " *καταναγκασθέντες*, nor as being Lords. ^f *1 Pet. 5.*

" Therefore my resolution stands cleare upon this vote; That it may
 " be declared that true and right Episcopacy is uncompatible and incon-
 " sistant with the authority of a secular jurisdiction.

" They who give in their names to be labourers in Gods Vineyard
 " must not goe out of the doore, and thinke to returne at pleasure: their
 " whole time they have vowed to the great Master of the Vineyard, & I
 " finde no wages promised but to them who enter and continue there to
 " the last houre. ^g *No man putting his hand to the plough and looking backe,* ^g *Luk. 9.*
 " *is fit for the Kingdome of God.* ^{62.}

" Let therefore this inhibitory Statute against Bishops holding the
 " secular jurisdiction of temporall Lordships, stand (as it must stand,
 " irropealeable *ὅχι οὐτως ἔσται ἐν ὑμῖν*. *It shall not be so among you.*

Thus by vouching a divine Statute that Bishops should not be Lords
 I doe plainly involve my selfe in this conclusion, that Bishops are and

P. 347.

Ep. 57.

God forbid that we should destroy the function of Episcopacy, but God grant we may (with his Majesties leave) un-Lord them from a domineering power: For to my sence, *Syns* first doth very well deliver him selfe, *Συνά τρεῖς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνὰ ἑαυτοῦ, οὐκ ἀδελφεοῦ καὶ ἀδελφῆς.* To conjoyne the principality with the Priesthood, is to close together things inconsistent. And againe, *Τὸ δὲ συνάγειν τὰς τὰς ἀρχιεπισκοπῶν καὶ τὰς τὰς ἐκκλ.* Why doe you endeavour to joyne those things that are separated by God?

In this opinion I may receive as little thanks from the Prelates, as I find full satisfaction in my owne bosome.

Session. VIII.

UPon thursday May 21. I subjected my selfe to the obloquie I suffer. The Bill for Abolition of our present Episcopacy was pressed into my hand by S. A. H. (being then brought unto him by S. H. V. and O. C.

He told me he was resolved that it should go in, but was earnestly urgent that I would present it, The Bill did hardly stay in my hand so long as to make a hasty perusal. Whilst I was overiewing it, Sir Edward Aisough delivered in a Petition out of *Lincolneshire*, which was seconded by M. *Strode* in such a sort as that I had a faice invirement to issue forth the Bill then in my hand. Hereupon I stood up and saip this which immediately after I reduced into writing.

Mr. Speaker,

THe Gentleman that spake last taking notice of the multitude of complaints and complainants against the present government of the Church, doth somewhat seeme to wonder that we have no more pursuit ready against the persons offending. Sir, the time is present, and the work is ready, perhaps beyond his expectation. Sir, I am now the instrument, to present unto you, a very short (but a very sharpe) Bill: such as these times and their sad necessities have brought forth. It speakes a free language, and makes a bold request. It is a purging Bill.

"I give it you, as I take Physick, not for delight, but for a cure. A cure now, the last and onely cure, if (as I hope) all other remedies have first been tried. Then -- *Inmedicabile vulnus, &c. But Cunctis prius tentanda* --

"I never was for Ruine, so long as I could hold any hope of Reformation. My hopes that way, are even almost withered.

"This Bill is intituled: *An Act for the utter abolishing and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, and Commissaries, Deanes, Deans & Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Chantres, and Canons,*

"Sir, you see, their demerits have exposed them *Publici odii piaculum*. I am sorry they are so ill, I am more sorry that they will not be content to be bettered, which I did hope would have been effected by our last Bill,

"When this Bill is perfected, I shall give a sad I unto it. And at the delivery in thereof, I do now profess before hand, that if my former hopes of a full Reformation may yet revive and prosper; I will againe divide my sence upon this Bill, and yeeld my shoulders to underprop the primitive, lawfull, and just *Episcopacy*: yet so, as that I will never be wanting with my utmost pains and prayers to *Root out* all the undue adjuncts to it, and *superstructures* on it.

I beseech you read the Bill, and weigh well the worke.

This is the nearest Act that every I have done for *Abolition*: and if I suffer for this, it is altogether undeservedly: For my profession here is to *Root out all undue adjuncts and superstructures*, but to *underprop the Primitive Episcopacy*. And (as before I said) a little addition to this Bill might have given us a good *Reformation*: Take away the present Diocesses, but state forth the future, in the same Bill. The heads of which forme shall anon be presented to you.

Session. IX.

The next passage of this nature was upon the same Bill, whilst it stood (as yet it stands) in Commitment to the whole House, Mr. *Hide* excellent well discharging that Chaire. And this was the first which was distast abroad. Many have importuned me for copies, but I have yet issued none out of my hand, though it were spoken above seven months since.

Mr. *Hide*,

21. Jun. 1641.

"You have here a Bill, but such a one as is likely to bee short-lived and not grow into a perfect Act, unlessse you please to add thereto some very important, very significant *provisos*, such wherein we may have, or wherby we may be assured in another Bill to have a future government, in roome of this that goes out. I am confident the Lords will otherwise debate & dispute your Bill quite out of doors.

"Sir, we are all bound unto the goodnesse of his sacred Majestie (God preserve him and his for it) none of all our Bills, none of our Petitions (this Parliament) have miscarried in his royall hand, but have been all compleated with the Royall assent.

"But the Ambition of some of our Prelates, will not let them see how incompatible two severall contradiistinguished functions are in one and the same person: And therefore there is left you neither *Root* nor *Branch* of that so good, so necessary a Bill, which lately we did

“What sparke of hope can we then have, that this Bill, which strikes at *Root and Branch*, both of their Seats of Justice there, and of their Episcopall Chaires in the Church will passe (as it is, and without tender of some other government in lieu of this) since the voyces are still the same, which outed your former Bill.

“Truly (I professe) my hopes are sad in this: never had one Parliament so many great affaires, never had any Par. any affaire so great as this which we call the *Bill of Episcopacy*. Certaine (*Sir*,) it is the great hope, or the exceeding feare of every man here, and of all men abroad.

“*Man*, a time this Parliament I have heard (and not unjustly) that the bulinesse then in hand was of as great consequence as any had been agitated within these wals.

“But in truth (*Sir*,) to my apprehension, neither Star-Chamber, nor High Commission, nor Shipmoney, nor *Straffords* death, nor *Canterburies* life, are (with me) equivalent, to the settling or unsettling of the whole nationall Church of this Kingdome.

“We cannot answer to God or man, if we doe not use our best and most vigorous endeavors for the peace of the Church we live in.

“I should think this a happy day, if we could so temper this Bil, that it might walk fairly on through the house of Lords unto the King.

“To this end, (and that we may not lose all, by asking more then all) I will be bold to offer to your consideration, a provisionall addition or two. Such as (I hope) may both satisfie us and secure our Bil, by fit amendments.

Here was a little intereption, and then a long additionall to the Bill presented in writing, for putting all Church-government into the hands of Commissioners in every Diocesse. I proceeded.

This was so at first, though afterward it was resolved that no Clergy man but onely Lay-men should be Commissioners.

“*Sir*, there is now offered unto you, a large addition to your Bil, longer (indeed) by far, then the Bill it selfe. It seemes to desire, that a proportionall number of Clergy and Laity, may be commissioned together, for all ecclesiasticke jurisdiction, untill a future government be resolved on.

“I must confesse, I am not satisfied with this way of Commissioners; it would joy me much and satisfie me more, if as one government goes out, I could see another come in, and that without an *Inter-regnum* of Commissioners.

“We are resolved that the present way of government is unsufferable, let it goe, but let us have another. This I conceive to be feasible, and that in fewer lines, fewer words, then this additionall increment now offered to your Bil; which in truth will make me like your Bil worse then I did before.

"To this purpose, I do lay this ground: A Church Government we must have. This is (within these walls for ought I hear) on all hands agreed upon: and then (by unavoydable necessity) this Government must be distributed into parts, into certain limits, circuits and divisions of places, wherein it is to be exercised.

"Unto this being granted, I do subjoyn three propositions, and they are these:

"First, Our present Diocesses are (for the most part) much too large, too vast; I desire therefore, That the circuit for future Church Government, may be reduced to the common boundaries and limits of our severall Shires. The disproportion from thence objected shall be easily answered.

"Secondly, Next, in every of these divisions, I desire that some choice, able, grave Divines (twelve or more in a Shire) may be by the Parliament appointed, to be in the nature of an old primitive constant Presbytery among us.

"Thirdly and lastly, Because all meetings of many must be disorderly, and the rule of many cannot be without confusion, unless there be one to guide and direct the rest. I shall desire that in every shire, over every Presbytery, we may establish one President.

"A President (I say) more to satisfie others then my self. The name of Bishop disturbs not me; let him be a Bishop, or an Overseer, or a President, or a Moderator, or a Super-intendent, or a Ruling-elder; call him what you will, so as you provide me one in every shire, over every Presbytery, to guide and to direct the rest.

"The different sence (to be easily observed) and I hope not past our strength to be reconciled, in this House, concerning our present Church-Government is twofold. One is for *Rule* thereof, the other for *Reforming*: both are nearer together in heart (I perswade my self) then we are yet aware of. The nearer the better, and more easie compose both of our own selves here, and of the Churches peace throughout the Land abroad. God send that we may finde the way to peace.

"If the right form of primitive Episcopacy were truly stated forth unto us, it would (questionlesse) take and lead our judgements along therewith.

"This Bishop was not so much a Lord as a Father over his charge, ruling with love and tender bowels; whosever did institute this Episcopacy, sure I am, this Bishop hath, and ever had, a precedency before, and a presidency over others of his own order.

"He was one man chosen out among the rest, and by the rest put into a severall

"severall degree (not into a distinct superiour Order) above the rest :
 "εἰς τὴν ἐμπροσθεν, *ad Episcopandum* to oversee the rest : and this only in
 "matters spirituall, nothing at all in affairs temporall, or secular employ-
 "ments.

"If this Bishop were not of *Apostolicall institution*, yet it is undeniable
 "that he was of *Apostolicall permission*. For, of and in the *Apostolicall times*,
 "all stories, all Fathers, all ages have agreed, that such Bishops there were.

"His rule indeed was with consent of his Senate, his Presbytery ; *Di-
 "rection* was his, *Coercion* was still their own.

"He had *προεδεῖαν*, yea and *προεδριαν*, both the first place of sitting, and
 "the chiefest part of power : I say the *chiefest part*, I do not say, the *greatest*
 "part of power. The power, it was more eminent in him, but it was vir-
 "tually residing and domesticant in the plurality of his Assessors.

"These Assessors were the Presbyters, the Elders of the Church, of
 "whom holy *Ignatius* (a Father so primitive, that he was Disciple to Saint
 "John the Apostle, and by some thought to be that very childe (whilst he
 "was a childe) whom our blessed Saviour took and set before his Disciples,
 "whereof you read in three of the Evangelists. This *Ignatius* (I say) in
 "his Epistle to the *Trallians* doth call these Elders, *συμβούλους, καὶ συναρπάστους*
 "τῆς ἐκκλησίας, *The Counsellors and Co-Assessors of the Bishop*.

"Here was in this age (and yet this father died a Bishop and a Martyr
 "before the last Apostle went to Heaven) here was a fellowship, yea such
 "as a fellowship as destroyed not presidency : and in another Epistle (that
 "to the *Magnesians*) you have such a presidency as doth admit also of a
 "fellowship. The words are, *Προεδρεύς τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ἡμεῖς*
 "*προσκυρόμενοι, εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν συνέδριον τῆς ἐκκλησίας. The Bishop being President* (the
 "very name and office there) *as in the place of God, and the Presbyters as a*
 "*Senate of Apostles*.

"I forbear to dilate upon this Episcopacy. But I will be bold, *Ponere*
 "ab oculos to set him before your eyes. I will give him you, even by way
 "of demonstration.

"Master *Hide*, your self are now in this great Committee, Mr *Speaker*
 "is in the house, The Bishop of our Congregation.

"You are in your selves but fellow-members of the same house with us,
 "returned hither (as we also are) to sit on these benches with us : until
 "by our election and by common suffrage, you are *Incathedrated* : then
 "you have (and it is fit and necessary, that you should have) a *precedency*
 "before us, and a *Precedency* over us.

"Notwithstanding this, you are not diversified into a severall distinct
 "order from us (you must not swell with that conceit) you are still the
 same

c: same member of the same house you were, though raised to a painfull
 "and a carefull degree among us, and above us.

"This Bishop had (as your self have here) *poteſtatem directivam*, but
 "not *Correctivam*. Correction in our house doth dwell in the generall
 "Vote.

"You know the power you have is limited, and circumscribed by them
 "who gave it; you are no Dictator to prescribe us our Laws; but must
 "gather our Votes: and then your pronouncing doth fix our (not your
 "own single) Orders.

"Neither you here, (nor Master *Speaker* in the House) can *Degrade* any
 "one of us from these Seats, nor can you *silence* us in the due liberty of
 "our Speech.

"Truly (Sir) as yet advised, I do heartily wish we had in every Shire
 "of England, a Bishop such and so regulated for Church-Government
 "within that Sphear, as Master *Speaker* is bounded in and limited, by the
 "rules and cancels of this House.

"That were (indeed) a well tempered and a blessed Reformation,
 "whereby our times might be approximant, and conformant to the Apo-
 "stolically and pure primitive Church.

"But this (I fear) is *magis optandum quam sperandum*: yet it being the
 "cause of God, who can then despair?

"This happinesse (I mean living under *Episcopall Presidency*, not under
 "a *domineering Prelacy*) this is too high above our reach, yet strong pray-
 "ers, and hearty endeavours may pull the blessing down upon us: In the
 "mean time, who is our Churches portion, for our *Bishop President* is lost,
 "and grown a stranger to us, and in his room is crept in, and stepped up a
 "Lordly *Prelate*, made proud with pomp and ease, who neglecting the
 "best part of his office in Gods Vineyard, instead of *supporting the weak*,
 "and *binding up the broken*, forrageth the Vines, and drives away other
 "labourers. The Vines indeed have both Grapes and Leaves, and Religi-
 "ous acts both substance and circumstance, but the Gardener is much too
 "blame, who gives more charge to the workmen of the leaves, then of the
 "fruit.

"This rough enforcement (of late) to that which is not the better part:
 "is an Episcopacy that turns all our melody into a Threnody: This makes
 "many poor, pious, Christian souls to sing the songs of Sion in a strange
 "Land. P
3.

"This Bishop will have no Assessors (or if any, so formally admitted,
 "and so awed, as good have none) no Senate, no Consultation, no Pres-
 "bytery or common Suffrage: but elates himself up into usurped titles,

"and incompatible power, and sublimes it self by assuming a *soleſhip* both
 "in *Orders* and *Cenfures*.

"Religion and reason, and Primitive example are all loud againſt this
 "Episcopacy.

"This too elate ſubliming of one can not ſtand without a too mean
 "demiffion (I may ſay debaſing) of many other of the ſame order. Nay
 "this Biſhop not content with Eccleſiaſtick pride alone, will ſwell alſo,
 "with ambition and Offices ſecular.

"Truly (Sir) you have done exceeding well to *Vote* away this Biſhop ;
 "for of this Biſhop (and of this alone) I muſt underſtand the *Vote* you
 "have paſſed, untill I be better inſtructed : For your *Vote* is againſt the
 "preſent Episcopacy, and for the preſent : you can hardly finde any other
 "Episcopacy but this ; an authority how ever by ſome of them better ex-
 "erciſed, yet too ſolely entrusted to them all,

"Away then with this Lordly domineerer who playes the Monarch
 "(perhaps the Tyrant) in a Dioceſſe : of him it is of whom I read, *Epif-
 copalis dignitas papalem faſtum redolet*. This kinde of Episcopacy it ſmells
 "rank of the Papacy : nor ſhall you ever be able, utterly and abſolutely
 "to extirpate Popery, unleſſe you *root* out this *ſoleſhip* of Episcopacy.

"To conclude in ſhort and plain Engliſh, I am for abolishing of our
 "preſent Episcopacy. Both Dioceſſes and Dioceſan as now they are. But
 "I am withall (at the ſame time) for reſtauration of the pure Primitive
 "Episcopall Preſidency. Cut off the uſurped adjuncts of our preſent
 "Episcopacy, reduce the ancient Episcopacy, ſuch as it was, *in puris ſpiri-
 tualibus*. Both may be done with the ſame hand, and I think in a ſhorter
 "Bill then is offered now by way of addition.

"Down then with our *Prelaticall Hierarchy*, or *Hierarchicall Prelacy*
 "(ſuch as now we have) moſt of it conſiſting in temporall adjuncts only ;
 "the *Diana* and the Idoll of proud and lazy Church-men. This do, but
 "*ex lege*, on this condition, that with the ſame hand, in the ſame Bill, we
 "do gently raiſe again (even from under the ruines of that *Babel*) ſuch an
 "Episcopacy, ſuch a Preſidency, as is venerable in its antiquity and puri-
 "ty, and moſt behoovefull for the peace of our Chriſtendom.

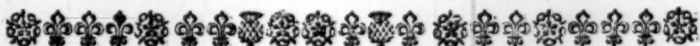
"This is the way of *Reforming* : and thus by yeelding to the preſent ſtorm,
 "and throwing that over-board which is adventitious, borrowed, and
 "undue, Peace may be brought home unto our Church again, the beſt
 "of that building and the truth of ancient Episcopacy may be preſerved :
 "otherwiſe we hazard all.

"This would be glorious for us, and for our Religion : and the glory
 "thereof will be the greater, becauſe it redounds unto the God of glory.

My

"My motion is, That those sheets last presented to you, may be laid
 "by, and that we may proceed to reduce again the old originall Episc-
 "opacy.

This being thus delivered, and upon report being mis-presented a-
 broad, a stranger came to me the next day, and with much shew of love
 and sorrow, told me, that I had lost (by this speech) the prayers of
 thousands in the Citie. Very many others have since been with me to
 try my temper, but I have found in them all (all that are absolutely
 Anti-Episcopall) so much more often treaty then of argument, that in-
 deed they have proved themselves as Bishops unto me, for I have received
 Confirmation from them.



Section X.

SINCE the late Recess, some endeavours of mine have
 been reported more distastive then before: insomuch
 as that, a lying generation gave it forth, some, that I was
 expelled the House, others that I was in the Tower, for
 what I had spoken.

The first passage was next morning after our meeting,
 upon occasion then offered by way of complaint, for not
 obeying the late Order of the eight of *September*. The
 complaint came from some Parishioners of *Cripplegate*.
 And thus I did on the sudden then deliver my self, which
 presently I reduced into writing.

21. Octob. 1641.

M. Speakers.

"IT is very true (as is instanced unto you) that your late order and
 "declaration of the eighth and ninth of *September*, are much debated
 "and disputed abroad: perhaps it may be a good occasion for us to re-
 "dispute them here.

“The intent of your Order, to me, seems doubtfull, and therefore
 “I am bold, for my own instruction, humbly to propound two
 “Quæres.

“1. How farre an Order of this House is binding ?

“2. Whether this particular Order be continuant or expired ?

“Your Orders (I am out of doubt) are powerfull, if they be ground-
 “ded upon the Laws of the Land. Upon that warranty, we may by an
 “Order, enforce any thing that is undoubtedly so grounded: and by
 “the same rule we may abrogate whatsoever is introduced contrary to
 “the undoubted foundation of our Laws.

“But Sir, this Order is of another nature, another temper: espe-
 “cially in one part of it. Of which (in particular) at some other time.

“Sir, There want not some abroad, men of birth, quality, and
 “Fortunes; such as know the strength of our Votes here as well as some
 “of us (I speak my own infirmities) men of the best worth, and of good
 “affiance in us, and no way obnoxious to us: They know they sent us
 “hither as their Trustees, to make and unmake Laws. They know they
 “did not send us hither to rule and govern them by arbitrary, revocable
 “and disputable Orders: especially in Religion: No time is fit for that,
 “and this time as unfit as any. I desire to be instructed herein.

“Mr Speaker, In the second place, there is a question, whether this
 “Order (whereupon your present complaint is grounded) be permanent
 “and binding, or else expired, and by our selves deserted.

“I observe, that your Order being made the eighth of September,
 “in hope then of concurrence therein by the Lords; that failing, you
 “did issue forth your last resolution by way of declaration the ninth of
 “September, wherein thus you expresse your self. — *That it may*
 “*well be hoped, when both Houses shall meet again, that the good propositions*
 “*and preparations in the House of Commons, for preventing the like grievan-*
 “*ces, and reforming the disorders and abuses in matter of Religion, may be*
 “*brought to perfection: wherefore you do expect that the Commons of this*
 “*Realm do in the mean time — (What? obey and perform your Order*
 “*made the day before? No such thing: but in the mean time) — quietly*
 “*attend the Reformation intended.*

“These are your words, and this my doubt upon them: whether
 “by these words you have not superseded your own Order. Sure I am,
 “the words do bear this sence, and good men may think and hope it was
 “your meaning.

“My humble motion therefore is this: I beseech you to declare, that
 “upon this our Re-convention, your order of the eighth of September

"is out of date : And that the Commons of England must (as you say)
 "quietly attend the Reformation intended, which certainly is intended to be
 "perfected up into Acts of Parliament. And in the mean time that
 "they must patiently endure the present Laws, untill you can make
 "new, or mend the old.



Section XI.

THe promise made (in my last) hath not been performed in the House, nor is now like to be. The reason is, There is now no probability that we shall debate the validity of our Order of the eighth of September. A day indeed (Saturday the sixth of November) was by Order fixed for that theam, but other affairs diverted it. To discharge my promise afore said, I was then ready with freedome to have unbosomed my self, as in this following discourse : but that order being expired, and not revived, though moved for ; I ask pardon if I do interpose here that which was prepared for that day. Excuse me, *Reader*, if I be willingly to expose my self to the utmost : The truth of my heart desires some friendly help to set me right, if I be in any error. I am sorry that I am prevented of publishing this in the House.

Master Speaker,

"**M**E thinks I am now going to walk upon the ridge of a house, a
 "dangerous præpice on either hand. On the one side I must
 "take heed that I speak neither more nor lesse than the inward dictate of
 "my own conscience : on the other hand I shall be afraid to presume
 "above your better judgements. My path is narrow : I must look to
 "my footing : *Dixi custodiam vias meas, &c.* I said I will look to my
 "ways, that I offend not in my tongue. Thus I preface, because I fore-
 "know that I shall speak to the dislike of some worthy Members of this
 "honorable House.

"Sir, Two questions are before us : First in generall, how farre an
 "Order of this House is binding *de foris*, not upon our own Members
 "here, but upon the people, the Kings subjects abroad. Secondly, the
 "validity and invalidity of your particular Order of the eighth, and
 "Declaration of the ninth of September last.

"For the first I am clear in this opinion, That we may enforce any
 thing that is undoubtedly grounded upon the law of the Land : Shew
 "me

"me that foundation, and I will concurre with you in any resolution.
 "We may also declare against any thing that is introduced contrary to
 "our Laws. Farther than this I know no way, unlesse it be by Bill :
 "and then I know no limitation, no bound. Thus in brief for the gene-
 "rall, I come now to your particular Order.

"Master Speaker, I shall be afraid to *arraigne* your Orders : I have
 "already been controlled, (not for doing so, but as if I had done so) yet
 "(Sir) I have often heard it in this House, that *we are masters of our*
 "*own Orders* : and then (I think) we may in this place arraigne them,
 "that is, question them, try them, approve, alter, reject, or condemne
 "them. Was not our Protestation more sacred than an Order ? yet
 "that was revised, and (to stop some objections) new fenced by us.
 "And I take it lawfull in this place to *arraigne* (if that be the word)
 "even an Act of Parliament, and then (*a fortiori*) an Order of this
 "House.

"Surely (Sir) I shall speak reverently of all your Orders when I am
 "abroad : I have done so of this. I am resolved that my obedience shall
 "therein be found good, although my particular reason be rebellant
 "to your conclusions. This is my duty abroad : but here in this
 "House, within these walls, freedom is my inheritance, and give me
 "leave (I pray) at this time to use a part of my Birth-right.

"The reasonableness, and the equity of your Order, both are con-
 "troverted. You all know that this is a dangerous time to make any
 "determinations in matter of Religion : whether it be in the doctrinall,
 "or in the practicall part of Gods Worship. Men are (now a
 "dayes) many of them more wise, and some of them more wilfull than
 "in former times. The use and caution is this : Let us take care that
 "what we do, we do with due and full authority ; I would have nothing
 "new (in this kinde) but by authority of the three Estates : and even
 "then let us be wary that we suit the times with applications proper and
 "seasonable.

"Hear me with patience, and refute me with reason. Your com-
 "mand is, That all *corporall bowing at the Name Jesus*—be henceforth
 "forbore.

"I have often wished that we might decline these dogmaticall
 "resolutions in Divinity : I say it again and again, That we are
 "not *Idonei & competentes judices* in doctrinall determinations :
 "The theam we are now upon is a sad point, I pray consider severly
 "on it.

"You know there is *a no other name under heaven given among*
men,

men whereby we must be saved. You know that this is *b* a name above *e*. *b* Ph
 “very name, *c* *Oleum effusum nomen ajm*, it is the Carroll of his own *g*.
 Spouse. This name is by a Father stiled *Melinore, melos in aure, jubulum in c* Cas
 “*corde*. This, it is the sweetest and the fullest of comfort of all the Names *1. 3.*
 “and Attributes of God, *God my Saviour*. If Christ were not our JESUS,
 “Heaven were then our Envie, which is now our blessed hope.

“And must I Sir, hereafter do no exterior reverence, none at all, to
 “God my Saviour, at the mention of his saving Name *Iesum*? why Sir, not
 “to do it, to omit it, and to leave it undone, it is questionable; it is con-
 “trovertible: it is at least a moot point in Divinity. But to deny it, to for-
 “bid it to be done: take heed Sir, God will never own you, if you forbid
 “his honour. Truly Sir, it horrors me to think of this.

“For my part, I do humbly ask pardon of this House, and thereupon I
 “take leave and liberty to give you my resolute resolution. I may, I must,
 “I will do bodily reverence unto my Savior, and that upon occasion taken
 “at the mention of his saving Name *JESUS*. And if I should do it also as
 “oft as the Name of *God*, or *Iehovah*, or *Christ* is named in our solemn
 “devotions, I do not know any argument in Divinity to controll me.

“*M. Speaker*, I shall never be frighted from this, with that fond, shallow
 “Argument: Oh you make an *Idoll of a Name*. I beseech you Sir, paint
 “me a voice, make a sound visible if you can: when you have taught mine
 “ears to see, and mine eyes to hear, I may then perhaps understand this
 “subtile argument. In the mean time reduce this dainty species of new *Ido-*
 “*lary*, under its proper head, (the second Commandement) if you can,
 “And if I find it there, I will flye from it *ultra Saurama* as any whither
 “with you.

“The words are there, *Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven Image,*
 “*or any likeness of any thing (ullius rei) that is in Heaven -- or in Earth --*
 “Can you here find the Name of God in this description of *Idolizing*?
 “Surely Sir, my Saviour is neither *εἰδωλον* nor *ἑκδομα* of any thing there
 “forbidden, nor *εἰδωλον* neither *Sculptile*, nor *Simulachrum*, nor *Idolum*. All
 “these are here, and none but these, and every of these doth signifie *Spectrum*
 “*aliquod*, some visible object. And must do so, for to speak properly, an *Idoll*
 “invisible, is but imaginary *Non-sence*. When you can bring the object of
 “one sence, to fall under the notion and distinguishment of another sence;
 “so that the eye may as well see a Name, or sound, as the ear can hear it:
 “then a name may be the object of *Idolatri*: till then, his Argument will
 “be too sublime for my understanding.

“God was neither in the *strong and mighty Wind*, nor in the *Earthquake*
 “yet these hardly (if possibly) can be figured, but a *still small voice*, this

"certainly is beyond the curious Art of man to expresse, and consequently
 "free from all possible perill of Idolatry. And therefore thus in *Dut.* God
 "doth character himself. *Ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no multitude*
 "only ye heard a voice. As if he should say, I know you prone unto Idola-
 "try: but now commit Idolatry to a voice, to a sound, to a name if you can.
 "I am grieved to see that wretched, unlearned, and ugly Pamphlet.
 "ascribed to Mr. *Burton*, with that daring impious title *Iesu-worship* con-
 "futed: where by way of a scornfull Sarcastime, he is not afraid (as with
 "a Nick-name) to call Christians *Iesu-worshippers*.

"I return, *M. Speaker*, this (as I said) is a sad point in Divinity, to forbid
 "exterior worship unto God. Was it ever heard before, that any men of
 "any religion, in any age did ever cut short and abridg any worship, upon
 "ny occasion to the r God? Take heed Sir, and let us all take heed whi-
 "ther we are going. If Christ be J E S U S, if J E S U S be God, all reve-
 "rence (*exterior as well as interior*) is too little for him. I hope we are not
 "going up the back-stairs to *Socinianisme*.

In a word, certainly Sir, I shall never obey your order, so long as J have a
 hand to lift up to haven, so long as I have an eye to lift up to haven, for these
 "are corporall bowings, and my Saviour shall have them at his name *IESUS*.

"Yet Sir, before I end, give me leave (I beseech you) to take off that,
 "which by mistake may else stick still upon me. I never liked the Bishops
 "ly injunctions in the late novell practices, nor the severe Inquisition up-
 "on the bare omission of this posture. The Bishops did rigorously exact it:
 "upon their own heads the crime of that enforcement lies. But (I beseech
 "you) let not us be guilty in the other extream. Truly to my sence it will
 "favour lesse of Piety, and more of Tyranny.

"In the last place, consider (I pray) that it is a point dogmatically, not
 "yet fully resolved by Divines; let us then be wary in it. And let this
 "(with many other points) be referred to a *Nationall Synod*. For one we
 must have, or else we shall break our Religion into a thousand pieces.

"For this present, my motion is (as formerly) that this Order be super-
 "seded, by declaring to the *Commons* (as your words in the Order are) that
 they do quietly attend the Reformation intended, and that in the mean time
 "they do (as they ought) obey the Lawes that are.

SECT. XIJ.

ON Friday the 22. Octob. some debate there was upon a new short Bill
 for taking away the Bishops Votes in Parliament. It was languaged that
 "they ought not to intromit themselves into secular jurisdictions, which I recei-
 ved willingly. For if it be found inexpedient, certainly, they ought not: if it be
 made

made unlawful, & futuro they ought not, if it be inconsistent with their Function, still they ought not : as was then argued by a worthy Member of the House. M. S.

But when it was presently urged by a Gentleman my neighbor there, that unto the words ought not, should be subjoyned, and that it is inconsistent with their function, which was pressed and urged by a generall voucher of Scripture, Fathers, and Councels : Yet I know that Gentleman will not in matter of opinion, scarce in an Historical point, allow me proof of what I can prove out of the two latter. Occasionally then, I thus expressed my self.

“**M**r. Speaker, However I am resolved in my private opinion of the in expediency and unlawfulness for Clergy men to hold secular jurisdiction (*Duo gladii non sunt in unum constandi & conferrumendi*) yet Sir, my inward resolution doth not presently make me a Judge in a Dogmaticall point, nor do I know that this place doth enable me with that capacity : if it be my private opinion, yet I desire not to bind the judgment of the Land herein by an Act of Parliament, although determining to my own sense.

“Certainly Sir, this point of inconsistency will lead this House (much more that of the Lords, where the Bishops are) into a debate which may more safely and more prudently be avoided. I have formerly, and again I pray you, that we may not engage our selves into the determination of doctrinall points in Divinity, perhaps it is not proper for us ; and for my part I do think we are not here in *Idonæ & competentes iudices*.

“Was it ever heard or seen, that a set of Lay-men, Gentlemen, Souldiers, Lawyers, Merchants ; all professors admitted, but the profession of professions for this work, Divines alone excluded, that we should determine upon doctrinall points in Divinity ? Theology not so low, so facile a Trade. Let us maintain the doctrines that are established ; to declare new, is not fit for our Assembly. And for my part, I do think I have found daily cause to wish these resolutions recommended unto other resolvers.

“Mr. Speaker, Divines are herein (in dogmatick resolutions of Religion) concerned as much, as well as we : They are a considerable party ; and ought not to be bound up un-heard. It was a prevailing Argument with me against the late Canons, that they could not bind us of the Laity, being a distinct severall body, no way involved in their Votes. Our plea was that we neither had a decisive voice to determine with them : nor a deliberative voice to consult with them : nor an elective voice, in choice of their persons, to make them our Trustees to determine for us. Nor lastly (as at least we should have) a susceptible voice, in a body of our own

own to receive their resolutions, and of our selves to submit unto them.
 These things are of a nature fit to be discussed by grave Divines, in a free
 Synod of Divines, to be chosen by Divines. In the mean time, let not us
 be guilty of the same which we have condemned in them: we ought not
 to pay injury with wrong. They cannot be bound where they are no way
 parties: For it is a rule in Nature, Reason, & Religion, *Quod omnes tangit, ab*
omnibus tractari debet. I am so good a friend to your Bill, that for the bet-
 ter expediting thereof. I desire the word *Inconsistent* may not stand
 therein.

Session XIII.

HAVING before professed that we are incompetent resolvers of doubt-
 full points in Doctrine; and finding how much of our pretious time,
 every motion, petition, and occasionall passage in Religion did take up, I
 thought it not inconvenient, next day to renew my motion for a Synod.

Saturday 23. October.

M. Speaker.

Y^eou have entred an Order, that nothing be treated of but affaires of Gene-
 rall concernment: I will present you one as generall, as universall as any
 can be.

The sad miseries of our distracted Church, and consequently the hazard of
 Gods true Religion with us, doth even cut my very heart with grief and fears.

If we let forth the government into a loose liberty for all Religions, we shall
 have none. Libertinisme will beget Atheism. And truly Sir, at present between
 Papisme on the one hand, and Brownisme on the other, Narrow is the way,
 and few there be do find it, to right good Protestantisme.

Many mournfull sad complaints I have of late received from Ministers
 the ablest, and every way the worthiest that I know. I could willingly name you
 two, one at Dover, the other at Cranebroke in Kent: Men upon whose merit,
 let my credit stand or fall in this House. Hee that hath preached least of these,
 hath preached severall thousands of excellent Sermons to his people.

These are in no better condition then many other deserving men, who do
 generally complain with grief of hearts, to see their now infected sheep, after long
 pastorall vigilancy, and faithfull ministry, to run and straggle from them more
 in these last ten months, then in twenty years before.

Grue

Give us (I beseech you give us) a remedy, a speedy remedy to this growing evil: or else our Schollers are like to turn Papist, Arminian, or Socinian: and all the ignorant party will either turn Atheist, or else (which is the next degree) make to themselves a Religion of their own, as themselves best please.

Sir, we may sit here (for ought I see) and debate our selves, and the world abroad into more and more distances of opinion: we are not likely to worke our selves, much lesse others, into unitie.

What is then to be thought on? Sir, the usuall, ancient, the best, and I thinke the onely way of cure is by a Councell. A free, learned, grave, religious Synod.

There is in some hand of this House, and long hath bin, a Bill for a National Synod ready drawn, With it we are curable; without it I look for no peace. S. R. H.

My humble motion is this in a word. If you love the peace of our Jerusalem, command forth that Bill to be forthwith read: or if that Bill be not to be had, appoint a Committee to draw up another.

This is my motion, and it is founded in a hope of piety and peace.

SECT. XIV.

Upon occasion of a Remonstrance 19 Novemb. wherein divers passages then were, concerning Religion and the Church-government, and some in particular (as I conceived) very aspersive to our Religion in the solemn practice of it by our publike Liturgy: charging it (*in hypothesis*) with *vain Repetition*, and with *favour of Superstition*: I did humbly move, that some of that Committee who framed up that Remonstrance for us, would please to assign what those *vain Repetitions* are in our Liturgy, and what passages of *Superstition*.

This Charge (upon this occasion) was answered by a Declaration.

Nothing was at all said, as I remember, to that point of *Superstition*. But at length a Gentleman did adventure, to name that which he seemed to think to be *vain Repetition*.

He said that the Lords Prayer is eight, nine or ten times repeated. I did with leave of the House reply, that such repetition *toties quoties* how oft soever was, if heart and words did go together, far from vain. That in my book, the Lords Prayer was but twice in the whole morning Service, unlesse the additionals of Baptisme, Churching, Communion, Buriall, &c. did occur. That then in every severall Act of Divine Service it was once, and but once repeated, as the high complecture of all devout expressions.

That this repetition in it self was warrantable, as by our Saviours example, who (although he *had not the Spirit by measure*) yet in the Garden he prayed three times using the same words. The further debate of this was oſted to the next day, and then it did grow toward a question, whether all exceptions againſt the Liturgy ſhould be totally laid by, or further debated. I did not hold our ſelves the proper determinators of this point. I did thinke that from hence occaſion might again be taken inductive to renew my motion for a free *Nationall Synod*; which I deſired to enforce the beſt I could: eſpecially there being now obtained a generall promiſe of a *Synod* in this very part of that Declaration or Remonſtrance.

Hereupon thus I adventured. A Copy whereof being ſtoln from me iſſued lately forth, both unknown to me and miſprinted alſo: which hath bin entertained abroad both with Applauſe and Exception.

Saturday November 20.

M. Speaker,

“ The queſtion is whether theſe clauiſes, concerning ſome pretended erroneous paſſages in our Liturgy ſhall be laid by or not. I am of opinion to decline them here: but not to bury them in a perpetuall ſilence.

“ In this very period you give us (in generall terms) a promiſe of a *Nationall Synod*: I do ſtill wiſh the preſency thereof: it being (to my understanding the onely proper cure and remedy for all our Church diſtractions: and may be proved (if proof be needfull) to have bin practiſed in the book of God.

“ This promiſed *Synod* is too far off: let me have better aſſurance then a promiſe, which that I may obtain, I will be bold to give you ſome reaſons to introduce that aſſembly, and to ſpeed it alſo.

Mr. Speaker, much hath bin ſaid, and ſomething attempted to be done to regulate the exterior part of our Religion: but Sir, we bleed inwardly. Much endeavor hath bin to amend the deformed forms we were in, and to new govern the Government.

Tet Sir, this is but the Leaves of good Religion, ſit (I confeſſe) notwithſtanding, to be taken care of, for beauty and for ornament. Nay ſome Leavs are ſit and neceſſary to be preſerved for ſhadow and for ſhelter to the bloſſoms and the fruit.

The fruit of all is good life: which you muſt never expect to ſee, unleſſe the bloſſoms be pure and good, that is, unleſſe your Doctrines be ſound and true.

Sir, ſir, I ſpeak it with full grief of heart, whiſt we are thus long preying and compoſing of the leaves, or rather whiſt ſome would pluck all leaves away, our bloſſomes are blaſted. And whiſt we ſit here in cure of Government
and

and Ceremonials, we are poisoned in our doctrinals. And at whose door will the guilt and sin of all this lie?

Qui non vetat peccare, cum potest jubet.

Sen.

"It is true, that this mischief growes not by our consent : and yet I know not by what unhappy fate, there is at present, such an all-daring liberty, such a leud licentiousness, for all mens venting their severall senses (sencelesse senses) in matter of Religion, as never was in any age, in any Nation, untill thir Parliament was met together.

"Sir, it belongs to us, to take heed that our countenance (the countenance of this honourable House) be not prostituted to sinister ends by bold offenders. If it be in our power to give a remedy, a timely and a seasonable remedy to these great and growing evils, and that we (being also put in mind) shall neglect to do it, we then do pluck then sins upon our own heads,

Alienum qui fert scelus, facit suum.

Sen.

"Shall I be bold to give you a very few instances? one for a hundred, wherwith our Pulpits and our Presses do groan?

M. Speaker, There is a certain new-born, unseen, ignorant, dangerous, desperate way of Independency; Are we Sir, for this independent way? Nay (Sir) are we for the elder brother of it, the Presbyterianall form? I have not yet heard any one: Gentleman within these walls stand up and assert his thoughts here for either of these wayes: and yet (Sir) we are made the Patrons, and Protectors of these so different, so repugnant Innovations: witnesse the severall dedications to us.

I

"Nay both these wayes, together with the Episcopall, come all rushing in upon us, every one pretending to a fore-head of Divinity.

• 1. Episcopacy says its by divine right; and certainly Sir, it comes much neerer to its claims then any other.

2. Presbytery, that says its by divine right.

3. Nay, this illegitimate thing, this new-born Independency, that dares to say its by divine right also.

"Thus the Church of England (not long since the glory of the Reformed Religion) is miserably torn and distracted. You can hardly now say, "which is the Church of England. Whither shall we turn for cure.

"Another instance. If I would deal with a Papist, to reduce him; He answers, I have bin answered so already: To what Religion would you persuade me? what is the Religion you professe: Your 39 Articles they are contested against: your publique solemn Liturgy that is detested: And which is more then both these, the three essentiall, proper, and onely tested Marks of a true Church, they are protested against: what Religion would you persuade me to? where may I find, and know, and see, and read the Church

Religion of Eng

"Religion you professe? I beseech you Sir, helpe me an answer to the

"Papitt,

"Nay Sir, the Papist herein hath assistance even among our selves, and

"doth get the tongue of some men whose hearts are far from him. For at

"one of your *Committees*, J heard it publickly asserted, by one of that

"*Committee*, that some of our Articles do contain some things contrary to

"holy Scripture.

M. *Speaker*, Sunday is a Sabbath: Sunday is no Sabbath: Both true, both

"untrue, in severall acceptance, and the knot J think too hard for our

"Teeth, Shall J give you an easier instance?

"Some say it is lawfull to kneel at receiving the Elements of our holy

"Communion: others plead it as expedient: Some do presse it as necessary:

"and there want not others who abhor it as idolatrous. And Sir, Jam confi-

"dent you cannot so state this easie question to passe among us, but that

"there will be many *contradicentes*.

"The second Epistle of S. Peter is now newly denied to be the Apostles,

"Our Creed, the holy Apostles Creed, is now disputed, denied, inverted and

"exploded, by some who would be thought the best

"Christian among us. J started with wonder, and with

"anger to hear a bold Mechanike tell me that my Creed

"is not my Creed. He wondred at my wonder and said,

"I hope your worship is too wise to beleeve that which you

"call your Creed.

"O Deus bone in qua tempora reservasti nos! Thus E'c'c'.

One absurdity leads in a

"thousand, and when you are down the hill of error, there is no bottom, but

"in hell, & that is bottomlesse too. Shall J be bold to give you one (and but

"one) instance more? much clamor now there is against our publike Litur-

"gy, though hallowed with the blood of some of the composers thereof.

"And surely Sir, some parts of it may be very well corrected. But the cla-

"mors now go very high. Impudence or ignorance is now grown so frontles,

"that it is loudly expected by many that you should utterly abrogate all

"forms of publique worship (a) and at least if you have a short forme, yet

"not to impose the use of it, Extirpation of *Episcopacy*, that hope is already

"wallowed, and now the same men are as greedy for abolition of the Li-

"turgy: that so the Church of England in her publique prayers (b) may

"hereafter turn a babler at all adventure. A brainlesse, stupid, and an igno-

"rant conceit of some.*

"Thus much, for a taste of that, whereof there is too much abroad,

of it, it is to me a wonder and absurdity, that a just authority may not bind that to

done by a law, which is (as they confesse) lawfull in it self both to have and use. (b) In

the false copy abroad, instead of may hereafter, the silly Transcriber put in Nay, her

returne which hath bin some displeasure unto me.

The Ministers in their
emonstrations do complain
at the Creed is often re-
peared; but they blotted
it (what they had put in)
at it is over-short, and
in one place) dangerously
obscure.

I.
As for
em who
omit a
rms to
e Law-
l, yet do
claime
ainst
thority
com-
anding
d im-
g the

Reuben, there are great thoughts of heart abroad. (*Sir*) Thus are wee engaged into sad points of Divinity, and with the favour of that Gentleman, who did last time disgust it, I must againe propound my doubtfull *quare*, to be resolved by the wisdom of this House: whether wee be *Idonei & competentes iudices* in doctrinall resolutions?

In my opinioa we are not. Let us maintain the Doctrine established in the Church of England, it will bee neither safety nor wisdom, for us to determine new.

(*Sir*) I doe againe repeat and avow my former words: And doe confidently assure me, that it was never seene, nor knowne in any age, in any Nation throughout the whole world, that a set of Lay-men, Gentlemen, Souldiers, Lawyers of both Cownes, Physicians, Merchants, Citizens, all professions admitted, or at least admittable, but the professors of Religion alone excluded, that wee should determine upon doctrines in Divinity.

Shall the Clergy hold different doctrines from us? or shall our determinations bind the mass? They are a considerable body in this kingdom; they are (herein surely) concerned as much as we. and ought not to be bound up unheard, and unpartied.

Farther (*Sir*) if Clergy men, among us be thought fit for no other then for spirituall employment; How shall we answer it to God, and to a good Conscience, if wee shut them out from that which wee ourselves pretend to be their only and their proper worke?

• Mr. *Speaker*, Wee cannot brag of an unerring spirit: infallibility is no more tyed to your Chayre, then it is unto the Popes. And if I may speake Truth, as I love truth with cleareness, and with plainness, I doe here ingenuously professe unto you, that I shall not, acquiesse, and sit downe upon the doctrinall resolutions of this House: unlesse it bee where my owne *Genius* doth lead and prompt me to the same conclusions.

• Mr. *Speaker*, Wee are here convened by his Majesties Writ to treat *Super arduis negotiis regni & Ecclesia*, I beseech you let us not turne *negotia Ecclesia* into *dogmata fidei*. There is a great difference in *Objecto* between the Agends and the Credends of a Christian. Let us so take care to settle the government, that we doe not unsettle the doctrines.

The short close of all with a motion is but this: we are poysoned in many points of doctrine: And I know no Antidote, no *Recipe* for cure but one: a well chosen & well temper'd *National Synod*, and Gods blessing thereon: this may cure us: without this (in my poore opinion) *Englandis* like to turn it self into a great *Amsterdam*. And unles this Coun-

self-be very speedy, the disease will be above the cure.

Therefore, that we may have a full fruition of what is here but promised : I doe humbly move that you will command forth the Bill for a *Nationall Synod*, to be read the next morning. I saw the Bill above five moneths since in the hand of a worthy member of this House. If that Bill be not to be had, then my humble motion is (as formerly) that you would name a Committee to draw up another.

This being once resolved, I would then desire that all motions of Religion, (this about the Liturgy, especially) may bee transferred thither, and you will find it to be the way of peace and unity among us here.

I might have added in due place above, a mention of (1) frequent Schismaticall Conventicles. (2) That Taylers, Schoomakers, Braziers, Feltmakers, doe climbe our publike Pulpits. (3) That severall odde irregular fasts have beene held, for partiall venting of private flatteries of some; slanders of other members of this House. (4) That the distinction of Clergy and Laity is popish and Antichristian, and ought no longer to remaine: (5) That the Lords Prayer was not taught us to bee used. (6) That no Nationall Church can be a true Church of God. (7) That the visible Church of Antichrist did make the King Head of the Church. (8) That supreme power in Church affaires, is in every severall congregation. (9) That a Presbytery without a Bishop was in the world before it was at Geneva. (10) That it is a hainous sinne to be present when Prayers are read out of a booke. (11) That to communicate in presence of a prophane person, is to partake of his prophanenesse. (12) That Christs Kingdome hath beene a Candle under a bushell, whilst Antichrist hath out-raigned him for 1600 years together.

Many, many more instances at little leisure I can gather, which together have begotten a generall increase of open Libertinisme, secret Atheisme, bold Arminianisme, desperate Socinianisme, stupid Anabaptisme, and with these the new Chiliales, and the willfulness of Papists strangely and strongly confirmed by these distractions.

Good God ! looke downe and direct our consultations. The best issue whereof (I thinke) would be to debate the whole debate of Religion out of our doores : by putting it into a *free Synod*, whereupon I doubt not but we should grow unanimous in all our other works.

Section XV.

THe Remonstrance or great Declaration went out of the House much better then it came in. When it was engrossed and presented to the last vote with us, J gave in my exceptions thus.

22 Novemb 1641.

Mr. Speaker,

THis Remonstrance is now in progresse upon its last foot in this House: I must give a vote unto it, one way or other: my conscience bids me not to dare to be affirmative: So sings the bird in my breast, and I doe cheerfully beleieve the tune to be good.

This Remonstrance whensoever it passeth, will make such an impression, and leave such a character behind, both of his Majestie, the People, the Parliament, and of this present Church and State, as no time shall ever eat it out, whilest Histories are written, and men have eyes to read them. -- How curious then ought we to be, both in the matter and the forme? Herein is a severe point of conscience to be tryed: Let us be sure that every parricular substance be a *Truth*: and let us cloath that *Truth* with a free language, yet a modest and a sober language.

Mr. Speaker, This Remonstrance is in some kind greater and more extensive then an act of Parliament: that reacheth only to England and Wales; but in this the three Kingdomes will be your immediate supervisors: and the greatest part of Christendome will quickly borrow the glasse to see our deformities therein. They will scan this worke at leisure, which (I hope) we shall not shut up in haste.

Some pieces here are of excellent use and worth: but what is that to me, if I may not have them, without other parts that are both doubtfull and dangerous.

The matter, for me, and small end of this Remonstrance, all of them doe argue with me, not to remonstrate thus.

The end: to what end doe wee decline thus to them that looke not forie? Wherefore is this descension from a Parliament to a people? they looke not up for this so extraordinary courtelie? The better sort thinke best of us: And why are we told that the people are expectant for a Declaration?

I did never looke for it of my predecessors in this place, nor shall doe from my successors. I do here professe that I do not know any one soule in all that Country (for which I have the honour to serve) who lookes for this at your hands. They doe humbly and heartily thanke you for many good Lawes and Statutes already enacted, and pray for more. That is the language best understood of them, and most welcome to them. They doe not expect to heare any other stories of what you have done, much lesse promises of what you will doe.

Mr. *Speaker*. When I first heard of a Remonstrance, I presently imagined that like faithfull Counsellors, we should hold up a glasse unto his Majestie : I thought to represent unto the King the wicked counsels of pernicious Counsellours : The restless turbulencie of practicall Papists. The Treachery of false Iudges : The bold innovations and some Superstition brought in by some pragmatcall BB : and the rotten part of the Clergy.

I did not dream that we should remonstrate downeward, tell stories to the people, and talke of the King as of a third person.

The use and end of such Remonstrance, I understand not : at least, I hope, I doe not.

Mr. *Speaker*, In the *forme* of this Remonstrance, if it were presented to you from a full Committee, yet I am bold to make this Quere, whether that Committee have presented to us any heads in this Remonstrance which were not first agitated here, & recommended to the House : if they have, there wanteth then (for so much) the formall power that should actuate and enlive the worke so brought untous, as may be well observed by perusing the order (now above at twelvemonth old) for constituting that Committee.

In the *matter* of this Remonstrance I except against severall particulars, but upon the transient reading of it, (not having any view thereof) I will gather up two instances only, very obvious, very easie to be observed.

First, (as was also observed by a learned Noble Lord who spake last) here is a charge of a high crime against all the Bishops in the Land, and that above all proof that yet I have heard.

Your words are. *Idolatry introduced by command of the BB.*

What ? plain, flat, formall Idolatry ? name the species of this Idolatry, that is introduced by the Bishops, that is (for indefinite propositions are equivoallent to universall) by all the Bishops, and by a *command* of theirs.

Certainly

10. No.
rem. 1640

Lo. Vth-
count Falk
land.

Certainly Sir, Idolatry (in the practise of it) is a very visible sinne; and the command of the Bishops was either legible or audible. Who hath read this command? who hath heard this command? who hath seen this all commanded Idolatry? and can assigne wherein it is?

Some superstition in Doctrines, and in practises, by some Bishops this is not the question: But the odious apostacy of Idolatry. Give me leave to say.

No man in this House can charge and prove all the Bishops, nor halfe of them, I dare say, nor any three among them: perhaps (and truly I thinke so) not one among them all, to have issued forth any one command for Idolatry. If any man can, let him speake and convince me, I love to be reformed. In the meane time I desire to offer you some particulars in barre, and by way of opposall to this charge.

The learned, pious, and painefull B. of *Durham* hath fought in front against Roman Superstition and Idolatry. D. Mer-

The B. of *Lincolne* was the first of note, that gave checke unto our Papall misleaders and Altarian innovators. He stood in gap of that inudation, and was a sufferer for us. D. Willi-

The B. of *Exeter* (however mistaken in the Divinity of Episcopacy) hath ever had the repute both of a good man, and a good Bishop. He hath not onely held and maintained his station, but advanced also, and made good impression upon the Idolaters of Rome. D. Hall.

M. Speaker, This hath been a very accusative age: yet have I not heard any Superstition (much lesse Idolatry) charged (much lesse proved) upon the severall Bishops of *London, Winchester, Chester, Carlisle, Chichester*. D. Tuxton.

Parcite paucorum crimen diffundere in omnes,

Not for love unto the persons of these Bishops, but for honour to our Religion, although the times of late have been somewhat darkened; yet, let not us make the day blacker in report then it is in truth. D. Curle.

In the last place I observe a promise in generall words, that Learning shall be rather advanced then discouraged: *Sed quid verba audio, cum facta videam?* D. Bridg-

Great rewards doe beget great endeavours: and certainly (Sir) when the great Bacon and Ewer are taken out of the Lottery, you shall have few adventurers for small Plate and Spoons onely. D. Potter.

If any man could cut the Moon out all into little Stars: although we might still have the same Moon or as much in small pieces; yet we shall want both light and influence. D. Duppa.

To hold out the Golden ball of honour and of profit, is both policy and honesty; and will be operative upon the best natures, and the most pious minds.

But (Mr. Speaker) if I observe aright; learning (I meane Religious learning) in this Remonstrance is for one halfe thereof utterly unthought on. And because I heare often speech of one halfe, but seldome mention of the other, give mee leave (I beseech you) in this Theam a litle to enlarge my selfe: if your Remonstrance once passe, it will be too late (I feare) to enter this plea.

It is I dare say, the unanimous wish, the concurrent sence of this whole House to goe such a way, as may best settle and secure an able, learned, and fully sufficient ministry among us. This ability, this sufficiency must be of two severall sorts.

It is one thing to be able to preach and to fill the Pulpit well; it is another ability to confute the perverse adversaries of Truth, and to stand in that breach. The first of these, gives you the wholesome food of *sound Doctrine*; the other maintaines it for you, and defends it from such Harpies as would devoure or else pollute it. Both of these are supremely necessary for us, and for our Religion.

Tir. 2. Both are of Divine institution. The holy Apostle requireth both. Both
 10. παρακαλεῖν & ἐνδύξαι. First to preach, *I but he be able with sound Doctrine*
 11. to exhort: & then, Καὶ τοὺς ἀντιδύοντας ἐνδύξαι and to convince the gain-
 sayers. For (saith he) *there are many deceivers, whose mouths must be stopp'd.*

Now Sir, to my purpose: these double abilities, these severall sufficiencies, may perhaps sometime meet together in one and the same man: but seldome, very seldome, so seldome that you scarce can find a very few among thousands rightly qualified in both.

Nor is this so much the infelicity of our, or any times, as it is generally the incapacity of man, who can not easily raise himselfe up to double excellencies.

Knowledge in Religion doth extend it selfe into so large, so vast a Sphere, that many (for hast) doe cut crosse the diameter, and find weight enough in halfe their worke: very few doe or can travell the whole circle round.

Some one in an age (perhaps) may bee found, who as Sir Francis Drake about the terrestriall Globe, may have travelled the celestiaall Orbe of Theologicall learning, both for controversall, and for instructive Divinity.

The incomparable Primæ of Ireland deserves first to be named. Bishop *Alorton* (whom I mentioned before) is another reverend worthy,

worthy, and hath highly deserved of our Church in both capacities, *Jewel* (of pious memory) another Bishop never to bee forgotten. Some few others I could name, able and active both for Pulpit and the Pen. But *Sir*, these be *Rara aves*, there are very few of them.

As Mr.
Reading.
M. Abbot.

The reason is evident. For whilst one man doth chiefly intend the Pulpit exercises, hee is thereby disabled for Polemick discourses; and whilst another indulgeth to himselfe the faculty of his Pen, he thereby renders himselfe the weaker for the Pulpit. Some men aiming at eminency in both have proved but meane proficientes in either. For it is a rule and a sure one,

Pluribus intentus minor est ad singula—

Now *Sir*, such a way, such a temper of Church-government and of Church-revenue, I must wish, as may best secure untous both: both for preaching to us at home, and for convincing such as are abroad.

Let mee bee alway sure of some Champions in our *Israel*, such as may bee ready and able to fight the *Lords battell* against the *Philistims of Rome*, the *Socinians of the North*, the *Arminians and Semi-Pelagians of the West* and generally against Hereticks and Atheists every where. God encrease the number of his *labourers within his Vineyards*, such as may plentifully and powerfully preach faith and good life among us. But never let us want some of these watchmen also about our *Israel*, such as may from the *everlasting hills* (so the Scriptures are called) watch for us, and descry the common enemy, which way soever hee shall approach. Let us maintaine both Pen and Pulpit. Let no *Ammonite* perswade the *Gileadite*, to soole out his right eye, unlesse we be willing to make a league with destruction, and to winke at ruine whilst it comes upon us. 1. Sam. x.

Learning (*Sir*) it is invaluable: the losse of learning, it is not in one age recoverable. You may have observed, that there hath beene a continuall spring, a perpetuall growth of learning ever since it pleased God, first to light *Luthers* candle: I might have said *Wicklifes*, and justly so I doe; for even from that time unto this day, and night and houre, this light hath increased; and all this while our better cause hath gained by this light; which doth convince our *Mis-anuists*, and doth evict that *Learning and Religion*, by their mutuall support, are like *Hippocrates twins*, they laugh and mourne together.

But *Sir*, notwithstanding all this so long encrease of learning, there is a *Terra incognita*, a great Land of learning not yet discovered: our ad-
adver-

adversaries are dayly trading, and we must not sit downe and give over, but must encourage and maintaine, and encrease the number of our painefull Adventurers for the Golden-sleece: and except the sleece be of Gold, you shall have no Adventurers.

Sir, we all doe looke that our cause should be defended: if the fee be poore, the plea will be but faint. Our cause is good, our defence is just: let us take care that it be strong; which for my part, I doe clearly and ingenuously professe, I cannot expect should be performed by the Parish Minister, no nor so well as hitherto it hath bene. For from whom the more you doe now expect of the Pulpit, the lesse (I am sure) you must looke for of the Pen.

How shall he with one hundred pound, (perhaps two hundred pound) *per annum*, with a family, and with constant preaching, be able, either in parte for charge, or in leisure for time, or in Art for skill, to this so chargeable, so different, so difficult a worke? I speake it (Mr. *Speaker*) and pardon my want of modesty if I say, I speake it not unknowingly: Six hundred pound is but a meane expence in bookes, and will advance but a moderate Library, Paines and learning must have a reward of *Honour* and *Profit* proportionall: and so long as our Adversaries will contend, we must maintaine the charge, or else lay downe the cause.

In conclusion, I doe beseech you all with the fervour of an earnest heart; a heart almost divided betweene hopes and feares: never to suffer diversion or diminution of the rents we have for *Learning* and *Religion*: but beside the Pulpit, let us be sure to maintaine *παιδείαν* *καθολικὴν* an universall *Militia* of Theology, whereby we may be alway ready and able (even by strength of our owne, within our owne happy Island at home) *ἐντρομίζειν* to stop the mouth of all errors and heresies that can arise.

Never Sir, never led it be said that *sacred Learning* (for such is that I plead for) shall in one essentiall halfe thereof, be quite unprovided for in *England*. Sir, I have reason to bee earnest in this, I see. I know great designs drawing another way: and my feares are increased, not cured by this declaration.

Thus I have done: and *because* I shall want Champions for true Religion. *Because* I neither looke for cure of our complaints from the Common people, nor doe desire to be cured by them. *Because* this House (as under favour I conceive) hath not recommended all the heads of this Remonstrance to the Committee which brought it in:
Because

‘of this Remonstrance to the Committee which brought it in ; *Because* it
 ‘it is not true that the Bishops have commanded Idolatry. Because I
 ‘do not know any necessary good end and use of this declaration, but doe
 ‘fear a bad one. And because we passe his Majesty, and do Remonstrate
 ‘to the People. I doe here discharge my Vote with a cleare conscience,
 ‘and must say *NO* to this strange Remonstrance.

Session XVI.

THus far I goe cleare, the same man unchanged : and that I may fully
 expose my self unto a right Character, and a true esteem, beside the
 laying open how I have already expressed my selfe in matter of Religion,
 I shall now bee bold to give you a composition fitted and framed for the
 House, on the same subject, and ready to have been presented above halfe
 a year since.

The Bill for *Root and Branch* (commonly called the Bishops Bill) ha-
 ving long been agitated, and in the Commitment grown from two sheets
 to above forty, I did think it would at least have been brought to questi-
 on for the engrossing : This that follows was ready to have been inter-
 posed upon that question. The Bill is laid down (I hope) to its perpetuall
 rest. This was prepared as an endeavour to lay that asleepe : And be-
 cause it doth most fully represent my utmost end and aime for *Reforma-*
tion, I am willing to subjoyne it here unto the rest.

Edw. Osg.

Mr. Speaker,

THIS Bill is now in question for its further progresse : I must give a
 vote unto it one way or other. The inward dictate of my conscience
 will not suffer me to be affirmative. We may now debate this Bill *super*
totam materiam, and I will then (with your leave and patience) give
 you some account why I am so fixed negative. This I shall doe as briefly
 as this cause can beare.

You had from my hand a very short Bill,

Non hoc quaesitum munus in usus.

I am willing (with many more) to abrogate that which is : provided
 that I may at that very time, in the same Bill know and constitute what
 shall be ; such an addition to this Bill I did at first expect : Such an addi-
 tion I shall anon be bold to present, but it will not now suit this Bill, as
 it is now mistempered to that purpose.

This Bill when it was but a short one, it did containe a great sum, *An*
Act for the utter abolishing of all Arch-bishops, Bishops, Deanes, and

H

Chapters,

Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Chaunters, Chanons, and all other their under-officers. These may be Legion for ought I know, they are so many, and many of them instruments and officers of vexation only. Pope 4. c. *Gregory* the first gave a true prediction, when hee said that Antichrist should come *Cum exercitu Sacerdotum*, with an army of Priests; it hath proved so. True on the other side, where the numberlesse numbers of Monks, Fryers, and Secular Priests, with his Janizary Iesuits, doe match the greatest army that ever the Grand Signior hath led. True in proportion with us, if the under-officers among us doe reach neere the thousands they have beene (of late) computed at. But letting passe the army of all their under-officers, the substance and-body of our present work is reducible to two heads.

1 *Episcopall Government.*

2 *Cathedrall Societies.*

All the rest are unto these, but *Phalerata nugæ*, their idle trappings and additionall impertinencies.

In the discussion and resolution of all this (I am confident) if we be but candid; temperate, and respectfull hearers of one another: we shall finde that (all this while) we are farther off, in words, in language and expressions, than we are in matter, in truth, and in purposes.

In the first place therefore, lest we should beat the aire in a mistaken sense of words, I will bee bold in a word or two, to give you the different sense of the word *Episcopacy*.

Sir, it will be maintained upon good ground that *Episcopacy* is of *Divine Right*: it will be maintained upon grounds as good, that *Episcopacy* is not of *Divine Right*. The ambiguity lyes in the word *Episcopacy*, and it must be put into a certainty, or else we shall run our selves into a certain Labyrinth of words, and lose the matter.

Three sorts of *Episcopacy* I have observed, and no more: pardon me if I use expressions which you have received before: They were his, they are mine, and *Beza* taught us both: who gives them thus,

1 *Episcopatus Divinus.*

2 *Episcopatus Humanus.*

3 *Episcopatus Satanicus.*

Others in milder language doe keep the same sense: So you may please so say, there is,

1 *Episcopus Pastor.*

2 *Episcopus Praeses.*

3 *Episcopus Princeps.*

The first of these we all doe reverence : it is the ordinance of God. You may safely write a *Noli me tangere* upon that : you have the holy text to warrant you. *Noli tangere Christos meos.*

The second also (in its degree) I doe highly honour, it is of right venerable antiquity : And for my part, if I can find such Episcopacy among us, I shall willingly submit thereto, though it should prove but the ordinance of man. Kings are no more themselves : Yet being once invested, obedience is due unto them by Divine right. You have another text for this also. *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lords sake.* So then the first is the ordinance of God, to be obeyed for God : The second, although the ordinance of man, yet (whilest it stands so ordained) is to be obeyed for God also.

The third Episcopacy hath too much of the Principality. This I detest, this I abhor. This is originally and really Antichristian. Away with this if you please, both *Root and Branch.*

If you will give me leave and patience, I will (as briefly as I can) touch them over and explaine my selfe.

First, *Episcopus Pastor.* This I say is of *Divine Right.* Every Spirituall Shepherd is to have a Flocke : and every Congregation must have a Pastor to oversee that Flocke. This is originall, and of no lesse than Divine institution. I need not prove this Bishop. If there be any doubt of this Episcopacy, look S. *Paul* in the twentieth of the Acts, there he gives this charge ; *Take heed (saith he) to the flock over which the holy Ghost hath made you Bishops.* I know wel that this text is by some Expositors construed of other Bishops. But how ever here are Bishops by divine right. And (mark you !) the holy Ghost (God for ever to be blessed) he first made Bishops. The Originall is plaine *τις μενεν το εμνην εδοτο ομοιουν.*

St. *Peter* speaks by the same spirit ; *Feed the flock of God (saith he) which is among you : taking the Bishoprick thereof,* Our English reading is the oversight thereof, both the same. Overseers and Bishops differ no more than a Greeke name and an English ; severall sounds, but the same sense. The originall is *επισκοπης* being Bishops thereof, nothing can bee more plaine.

Now (Sir) this Episcopacy, wee shall not, wee must not, wee dare not remove. This is that Bishop of whom the most ancient *Ignatius*, Epist. thus, *Episcopo subiecti estote, velut Domino, ipse enim vigilat pro animabus vestris.*

Away then with their impertinent objection, who say, that there is a malady in the very name of Bishop ; that the name is odious : you

See the holy Ghost hath honoured this name and title, with approbation. Nay this name and title must never sinke into obloquy, it being one of the attributes of our blessed Saviour, He is the *Bishop of our soules*.

The second is *Episcopus pates*. If this be but *Humanus Episcopatus* (for I doe not determine the point already warine between a reverend and worthy Bishop and his Anti-pent-agonists) if it be not founded upon Divine institution, yet certainly it stands on good grounds, and pleads its owne right by a good title, and that either *jure Apostolico*, or *jure Ecclesiastico* or *jure civili & constitutivo*, or *jure rationis & convenientie*. Al or any of these do entitle it *jure bono*. And that by so good, so approved a right, that (*Mr. Speaker*) I am bold to stand up, and to forbid any man from this houre for 1600 yeares upward, to name any one age, nay any one yeare, wherein this Episcopacy was out of date in the best part of Christendome. By the word *Bishop* I doe here understand, a man of the Clergy eminent in honour and power, by vertue of a superiour degree above other men, both Ministers and people within a certaine circuit or territory allotted and subjected to his particular care and survey in matters spiritual, and affaires Ecclesiasticall.

I will not trouble you to repeat the character of this Bishop: I have formerly been bold with you in that kind. He had a precedency. He had a presidency: He had a power, *potestatem directivam*, it cannot be denied. I gave you an instance very accommodat to my sense: (*Mr. Speaker*) your selfe are our Bishop, we are your Presbyters.

It is true, that we have made you our Bishop, our Overseer, our President: and now it is as true, that neither we without you, nor you without us, can establish any one order. Nor you without us, we must be your Assistants. So *Ignatius* of old, *The Presbyters are* (saith he) *ὁ ἰσχυρὸς Θεὸς, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἄποστολων*, as the Senate of God, and the band of Apostles. Nor we without you, for so the same *Ignatius* (give me leave to presse his venerable authority, although Ignorance and Arrogance have of late decayed both him and all Antiquity.) *They* (saith he) *who doe all things Χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου* without a Bishop, to such men Christ will say --- Why do you call me Lord, Lord, and do not the works I bid you? Such men do seem to me *ἐν ἐννομίᾳ* not to be of good conscience, but to be counterfeits and dissemblers. Mark his judgement on such as would do all things without a Bishop.

Of this Bishop, the *Bishop President* (and I plead for so other) it must be meant, which I read in the same *Ignatius* (I will not trouble you with any younger, or any weaker authority, and I will hold my selfe within those

Epistles

Epist. ad
Iral.

Epist. ad
Magnef.

Epistles that are indubiously his) the words are these, *Αναγκασιον εστιν*—*Epist. ad And. in εὐαγγελιον καὶ διὰ τῶν ἁγίων*. It is necessary (necessary he says) that you *Tral.* do nothing without the Bishop.

Clearly then, the Bishop President in the best and purest age, was of the *Quorum* in all Ecclesiasticall affairs. And for this last age, Reverend Calvin, Beza, Bucer, Zanchy, Danan, learned Chamier, all admit, none reject this kinde of Episcopacy.

They who deny that ever any such Bishops were in the best, the purest times, I entreat some one of them (if any such be here) to stand up, and to shew me, teach me, how I may prove, that ever there was an *Alexander* of Macedon, or a *Julius Caesar*, or a *William* the Conqueror in the world. For Sir, to me as plaine, as evident it is, that Bishops President, have been the constant, permanent, and perpetuall governours, and moderators of the Church of God in all ages. And this being matter of fact, I doe hope that historickall prooffe will be sufficient adequate prooffe in that which in its fact is matter of History. But prooffs herein are so manifold and so clear, that I borrow the free and true assertion of a worthy and a learned Gentleman: *It may be thought want of will rather than want of light, which makes men deny the antiquity of Bishops in the Primitive times.*

Sir Thom.
Aston, re-
view of E-
piscopacy
p. 1.

Therefore answer not me, but answer *Ignatius*, answer *Clemens*, *Tertullian*, and *Irenaeus*. Nay, answer the whole indisputed concurrence of the Asian, the European, and the African Churches. All ages, All places, All persons: Answer (I say) all these, or (do as I do) yeeld to the sufficient evidence of a truth.

Deque fide certâ, sit tibi certa fides.

But do not think to bring me into a dream of a new born, or new to be born Church-government, never known, never seen in Christendome before this Age.

As for them, who say that all Episcopacy is Antichristian: Truly Sir, they may (if they please) with as sound reason, and with as much knowledge say, that all Church-government is Antichristian; and I doubt there are some abroad ripe for such a sense.

Sir, Let us be wiser than to cosen our selves with words, and through am mistaken Logomachy run our selves into a Church Anarchy. If you talk with a Papist, in point of Religion, presently he is up with the word *Catholicke*; *Catholicke* he tels you he is, of the *Catholicke Roman Church*. This go's off ore rotundo; but require him to speak plain English---The *Universall Roman Church*, & then you may laugh him into silence. Just so; some cry, away with *Bishops*, no *Bishops*, no not of any kind. I desire one of that sense

to stand up, and tell me sadly, would you have an *Overseer* in the Church or not?

Phil. 4.3.

Ancient S. Clement (whom S. Paul calleth his *Fellow-workman* in his undoubted Epistle to the Corinthians) doth foretell that a time should come, when there would be *ἔρις διὰ τὸ ἐπισκοπᾶν καὶ ὁμιλιῶντες*, contention about the very name of Bishop. I think the time is now. For my part I will not make that my contention; but for the government by an Episcopall presidency, shew me any thing more agreeable to the holy word: shew me any thing more honoured by the holy Martyrs of the first and the later times: shew me any more rationall and prudentiall way of government, and I yeeld unto you.

Some against all Episcopacy do plead unto us, the fresh example, and late practice of our neighbour Churches. But I beseech you, *Sir*, are not wee herein as fit to give them our, as to take their example? I am ashamed to heare yesterdaies example pressed as an argument by some, and the all-seeing providence through all ages to the contrary turned aside, by the same men, as not worth an answer. Or if an answer you get, it is but this dead one, wherein (as in a *mare mortuum*) they would drown all reply. Oh, say they, the *mystery of Iniquity* began to work in the Apostles time. Ergo, what? Therefore, say they, this Episcopacy is that *mystery of iniquity*: and so they do desperately conclude with themselves, that Christ did never support his Church with a good government till *Farrell* and *Fruementius* did drive their Bishop out of Geneva: or since then, untill Presbytery begat independency. But their Syllogisme is as true Logick and as consequentiall, as our Kentish Proverb, that *Tenterden Steeple is the cause of Goodwin sands*. Both arguments are in one and the same mood and figure. But I returne and proceed.

I have not asserted this kinde of Episcopacy as divine, yet I professe that it soares aloft,

——— *Et caput inter nubila condit.*

It hath been strongly received, that Presbyters succeed to the seventy Disciples, and Bishops to the Apostles. S. Peter honours Episcopacy, by entitling the holy Apostles thereunto; for *Mathias* is chosen to take a Bishoprick (the very word there) which *Judas* lost by going to his own place.

Acts 1.26.

S. Paul tels you, *This is a faithfull saying, εἰς τὸ ἐπιμαρτυρεῖν ἐπίσκοπον*, If any man desire a Bishoprick, he desireth a good work. And this S. Paul writes not at large in an Epistle to the body of a whole Church, as to Rome or Corinth, but this is in, directed unto *Timothy*, then designed to be the particular Bishop, that is the President and Overseer of *Ephesus*.

1 Tim. 3.1.

Two things are (or may be) here objected. First, that neither of these Texts, nor any other can bee found, expressly mandatory, requiring the Office of Episcopacy in the Church. Next, that the name of Bishop is in some places plainly given unto Presbyters. I answer,

If you put me upon this, that you will not yeeld unto Episcopacy untill you have a Text expressly positive therein, consider if by the same rule you do not let loose many other points as well as this. Shew me an expresse Text for the Lords day to be weekly celebrated. It will be hard to finde divers articles of our Creed in the holy Scripture *terminis terminantibus*. What have you there for *Pado-baptisme*? What preceptor or example have you from our Saviour, that women shall receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper? Why should women be baptized, since the covenant (to which Baptisme doth succeed) Circumcision was a scale betweene God and men only? What have you there expresse, why I may not beleieve the Trinity to be three almighties, as well as three persons and but one almighty?

But Sir, the golden rule of *Vincentius Lirinensis* is an unfailing guide. *Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*, look what among Christians, hath been everywhere at all times, by all men universally received, *Atq; id quidem verè est Catholicum*, and there you may rest secured. So (I say) that for right sense of these Texts, and for warrant of this Episcopacy, the universall practice of the whole Church of God, especially in the Apostestimes, and immediately succeeding the Apostles, is a most undeniable commentary to clear unto us, that this kind of Episcopacy is and was of *Apostolical allowance*, if not of *Apostolical institution*. And thus in other points doth *Tertullian* argue against *Marcion*, and *S. Augustine* against the Donatists.

The second exception is this. These Bishops may well be thought to be but Presbyters, for, say they, the name of Bishop is given to Presbyters also in holy writ. Ergo Episcopacy is not a severall degree from Presbytery.

Surely Sir, if this argument be a sound one, the Apostleship it self was not a severall order and degree from the 70 Disciples, and from Presbyters. & then it had been a vain thing to take *Matthias* from a disciple into the lot and fellowship of an Apostolate. *S. Peter* doth not degrade himself of his Apostleship, when he entituled himself *Episcopus* & a fellow Presbyter. That very office which is called a *Bishoprick* is within 4 or 5 verses following, ^{1 Pet. 5. 1.} called the *ministry of an Apostleship*. And if you wil argue from community ^{Acts 1.} of names to identity of office (so is done in the titles of Bishop & Presbyter) ^{20, 25.} surely the we shal find many more Apostles thā they who saw the Lord

Act. 9. 27. *in the flesh*. So Barnabas is called an Apostle. So Andronicus and Junius are
 2 Cor. 5. among the Apostles. S. Paul calls Epaphroditus, the Apostle of the Philip-
 16. pians, ὑμῶν Ἀπόστολος. So speaking to Tim and others, they are stiled Ἀπο-
 Act. 14. 14. stoles of the Churches. Shall I conclude, that all these
 Rom. 16. 7. λοι ἐκκλησιῶν, the Apostles of the Churches. who are thus called Apostles, were indeed, and in proper acceptation
 Phil. 2. 25. very Apostles? No man will say so.

By the same argument, (from community of name to identity of Of-
 fice, which argument, by Antiprelaticall men, is much enforced) I may
 prove an Apostle and a Deacon to be the same Office. S. Paul calleth his
 Apostleship but a Deaconry, τὴν διακονίαν ἢ ἐλπεῖν. And again, Ἐγὼ ἐλά-
 Act. 20. 24. τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, I was made a Deacon. I conclude, that if Apostles be called Dea-
 Eph. 3. 7. cons, and Deacons be called Apostles, and yet the Offices are, and are re-
 Col. 1. 23. puted to be, distinct and severall: So may the same men be called some-
 time Bishops, sometime Elders or Presbyters, and yet the two different de-
 grees remain different and unconfounded. Take heed of enforcing such ar-
 gument, to prove a parity in degree by the community of Appellation,
 since you may read of our blessed Savior himself, that he is a Deacon, an
 Evangelist, an Apostle, a Bishop. But forbearing this, I proceed.
 M. Speaker, I come now in briefe to my third Episcopacy, Episcopatus
 Princeps. This, this third age is the burden of our song,
 25.

— De duro est ultima ferro.

God was the first: the second was bright and glistering, a silver age at
 least. But this, this where we now are, it is Iron, I and rusty too.

This is that Clergy Monarch whom we would avoid. This a tabition
 of a sole power, it is a very old sin, it began in Diotrophes, of whom the A-
 postle complains that he was φιλοπρεσβυτέρου, Primatus ailexit, he loved to
 be a Primare, the first, the sole in authority. He (Diotrophes alone) did cast
 the brethren out of the Church: and therefore the Apostle doth threaten,
 3 Io. .9. that when he comes, he will bring the deeds of Diotrophes to remembrance.

This dangerous sole ship is a fault in our Church indeed; and this I take
 to be pestilentiall Cathedra, the very peck and poyson of Episcopacy; this is
 that which must away, and this being gone, I shal not fear their tyranny.

If it were not for this, they could neither oppresse good Ministers, nor
 preferre dull droans, scandalous persons, nor pragmaticall Innovators.
 If they had not been so sole in power, our many severall chaires for Re-
 ligion had not groaned with such number and weight of complaints. But
 by this they have been able to do mischief above beliefe.

Sin.

Et ipse miror, vixque jam facto malo
 Potuisse fieri credo.

The

The exemplar piety, the ardent love and sweet humility of holy Bishops in the first foure centuries, did worke so farre upon the credulous hopes of both Clergie and Laity, that presuming to sit in the same Chair, a succession of the same goodnesse, they became guilty of a desperate submission to a sole power of one man, before they knew what changes, and what consequences they should feel.

Ignatius the great Bishop of Antioch, doth discriminate his own Episcopacy, from an Apostleship, even by this, that he had not a sole ship of power and authority as they, and therefore he saies, *ἐγὼ οὐκ Ἀπόστολος εἰμι* *I do not command you as an Apostle.*

This Bishop keeps a dangerous distance betweene his own Pharisaical worship, and the plebeian Clergie, who yet are, all in order as good, and many of them in merit better then his Lordship.

To draw this to a point: The first Episcopacy wee all are vow'd unto. The second, none will dissent from, but a lover of Novellisme: The third, none can submit unto, but such as are content to be passive in a Tyranny. Away then with that, and with that alone, and then away with their needlesse question who say: shew us another government, before you take this away.

Away with that *interregnum* of Lay Commissioners, the high road way, or the next degree to Anarchy. Renovation is not Innovation, to Reforme is not to bring in a new forme, but to purge the present form, by reducing it unto the old. *Quarite antiquas semitas, & State super eas, State: Ite.* I say there: We may keepe our places, though wee change our postures. Away with our present Episcopacy, but give us the ancient Presidency, Both may be done at once.

Mr. Speaker, This way of Commissioners, wherein five Laymen shal have the controll of all that is or was of Clergy cognisance and function: *mirabile dicta*. I want words.--- I much feare that this may prove a dangerous new way, to let in other new wayes hereafter. In the meane time what view, what shew, what face of a Church shall poore England have? England of late the glory and the pride of Christendome reformed. My heart akes to thinke, that when Christendome was ready to come over unto us, we are now ready to runne away from our selves: And to see that wee labour so much for Ruine and Eradication, that we are like to lose (by a not seasonable laying hold thereon) the most glorious hopes of a full and blessed Reformation that ever lay before a Parliament. The Issue will be, if wee will have Ruine, wee shall have Ruine. If at present we have that active Ruine so much pursued, wee shall shortly have a passive Ruine desired.

Mal. 4. 1. desired. Let us not be fond of this ill sounding Proverb: Take away both *Roote and Branch*: it is threatned as a curse, I never read it any where as the language of a blessing.

But (Sir) *Wsqarqno*? How long shall we bee in this wilderness of Anarchy? No time, no bound set, no period fixed to our confusion of government? How dare we thus discompose, disfigure, and deform the beauty of our Church? will your Commissionated Church be *comely as the tents of Kedar*, and as the *curtainnes of Solomon*? Where is that *Acies ordinata*, the Church that was prophesied to be *terrible as an army with banners*?

Zach. 1. 1. In the Prophet *Zachary* the Lord doth threaten it as a curse, to breake both his *Staves*: both that of *Beauty* (which is interpreted the beautifull order of government) and that of *Bands* (which is construed brotherly unity:) and surely I thinke *order and unity*, if one be broken, neither is firm. Let this then happen to other Nations to our enemies; but with us let the *bands of unity*, and the *beauty of order* be our double support: otherwise we shall have cause to bemoane ourselves in the words of the same Prophet, *Howe ye firme trees, for the Cedar is fallen: Because all the mighty are destroyed*---for the *deserted Forrest is cut downe*. There is the voice of bowling of *Shepheards*, for their *glory is destroyed*,

For my part, I doe here freely and heartily professe, that I am none of those men, that 1600. years after my Saviour came to plant his Church, wil consent to give a new rule, a new invented government to his Church never knowne untill this age. I dare not thinke (who can thinke it *salva pietate*?) that the Sonne of God, the *wisdoms of the Father*, came down from Heaven to plant a Church, to erect a Kingdome, and that he direct this Kingdome. that he did plant this Church, many hundred yeares since, and this with the deare price of his precious blood, but either never would, or never could blesse it with a good government, till wee were borne to set it right. Take heed of such assertions, that give way to inferences and consequences of unavoidable impiety, and may leade on a new path to Atheisme. Believe it (Sir) believe this: The *wisdoms of the wisdoms of God*, cannot be guilty (I speake with zeale and reverence) of such an im providence, to erect his Kingdome then, and to give it his rule but now. Ioyn with me (I beseech you Sir) in this faith, that our blessed Saviour on whose *shoulders the government did rest*, did not immediately, and for so many ages after forsake his Church, and abandon it to Antichristianisme, with whom at first he promised to be *always unto the end of the world*.

In a word (Sir) we are all quick-sented, we are all on fire to heare of an

arby-

arbitrarie rule in the civil State : I beseech you , let us all be equally or more zealous for the Lord of Hosts : Let us not be guilty of bringing in an arbitrarie rule into his house. Take heed (*Sir*) let us all take heed of such a dangerous parity, as some would bring in amongst us : and the rather because they presume to set the stampe of divine authority upon that counterfeit metall.

Parity of degrees in Church-government hath no foundation in holy Scripture and is as absonous to reason, as parity in a State or family. Indeed it is a fancy a dream, a meer *non entity*, it neither hath, nor ever had a being: If it be any thing, it is absolute Anarchisme, and that is nothing for privation of government is not a government.

But on the contrary, imparity is from divine authority : our Saviour did plant it, and then I am sure it is a plant that should grow and continue. By the way I presse you not with instances of Gods Church under the law, though that, and this under the Gospell were both planted by the same All-knowing wisdom. From the equity of which law there, and from the imparity of Governours therein, a most solid and unfailing argument may be deduced for the lawfulness of an imparity also under the Gospell. For that which is good in it selfe, is ever so. And without all peradventure, if Church imparity did (in its owne being) lye crosse unto the will of God, or to the Law of his Church, God never would, never could have commanded it. But that our Saviour also in the Evangelicall Church did plant imparity is most cleare. First, he chose his 12. *Apostles*. Afterward he appoynted 70. *Disciples*, yet no man can affirme that these were all of the same Order, Dignity, and Degree. If they had been so, what needed so curious supplement when once the number was reduced to eleven? After our Saviours ascension, the holy Apostles did ordaine another imparitie, and that was of (a) Deacons.

(e) St. Paul biddeh some *συνῆναι* to watch and observe; Hee commendeth others if they desire (f) *ἐπισκοπεῖν* to Oversee. So there are (g) *κοινωνοὶ λαβούροις* in the word and you know who was *σὺν ἐπισκοπῇ* (h) a wise master-builder, which is more than others were, though all be called *κωργοί* and *κωργοῦντες* (i) fellow-workmen, fellow-labourers in the spirituall building. Farther, Sir, as you read (k) *σπῆντα* soldiers, and (l) *οὐραγῆται* fellow-souldiers : so you may read also that there were *οὐραγῆται*, (m) Leaders and Governours; such as had oversight and must be obeyed. The Elder or Presbyter is frequent in the Apostolicall Epistles, and there are in power and honour above these (not as our Novellists do fondly construe under these) (n) *οὐραγῆται ἐπισκοποῦντες*, the ruling Presbyters. One of which number St. Paul doth call (o) *ἡγεμῶνας*, the Ruler. As in (p) Ignatius there are *οὐραγῆται ἢ ἐπισκοποῦντες*, The Leaders or Rulers of Churches.

Is there no imparitie in all this? Then the Rulers and the ruled are

Luke 6. 13.
Luke 10. 1.

Acts 1.

d Acts 6.

e Phil. 3. 17.

f. Tim. 3. 1.

g. 1 Thel. 5. 12.

h. 1 Cor. 3. 1.

i Rom. 16.

21.

Phil. 2. 25.

Phil. 2. 24.

k 2 Tim. 2. 2.

l Phil. 2. 25.

Phil. 1. 1.

m Heb. 13.

17. 24.

n 1 Tim. 5.

17.

o Rom. 1. 8.

p ad Tral.

the same in Logick. But for my part I am cleare and confident in this, that impariety in power, among persons officed in the Church, is both lawfull and expedient; and ought to be preserved, if order, decency, necessity, universall practice, Apostolicall Example, and Divine authority can altogether make but one concludent argument.

Mr. Speaker, I doe humbly and earnestly intreat, and beg of every Member of this House, seriously and sadly to examine his own soule (never more cause than in this present Vote) what end, and what ultimate aime he hath in this dreadfull Bill. What is the government his heart doth wish for? Three wayes of Church-government I have heard of, and no more; the *Episcopall*, the *Presbyteriall*, and that new-borne Bastard, *Independency*: *Non datur quantum*. The last of these is, nothing but a confounding Ataxy, rent upon rent, and a schisme of schismes, untill all Church Community be torne into Atomes, every three men (nay every three women,) dissociating themselves into an *idolosyncrasis*, a *will-worship* of their owne devising, which fondly and madly they would call a Church. Where, and in what corner of the world hath this aëry Independency been asleep untill these dayes? *Quo consule?* under what Kings Reigne was it borne? where may I heare that it hath a being? where may I read (below the world in the Moone) that ever it had a being? I will be hold to brand it with the name of a new-minted Seminary for all selfe-pride: heresie, schisme, sedition, and for all libertinisme, except an outward seeming Sainthood. A pestilence to all government, a traitergus and clouted Anarchy. If this way have any favourers in this House, let them owne their Religion, and speak for it.

The next is the Presbyteriall way, a more orderly, and a better tempered noveltie than the other, but a novelty, and indeed but elder brother to Independency: upon this you had my sense at Mid-summer last. It is enough for me that I can poynt out when it began: since my Father was borne, or I am sure at most in my Grand-fathers dayes: and it is my fixed resolution, that since (by Gods blessing) I am of the oldest Religion, I will never consent to any but to the oldest government.

The third way is Episcopall: the originall whereof is high, and beyond my search to define: yet this I am bold to affirme, it had a Being, and that an allowed Being in the best, the first, the purest age, and (as I said before) if it be not of *Apostolicall Institution*, yet cleare enough it is of *Apostolicall permission*. It will be said that our Bishops are nothing such: yet (Sir, I pray you) may not they be easier made such, than the Dutch or Scottish Presbyterie, or a New-England Independency can be? what is our worke but to reforme? I would the question were put whether our Episcopacy shall bee reformed, or not.

But

may be colle-
ct by Spencers
reached Pam-
er.

First (Mr. Speaker) it is true, there are degrees in Episcopacie it selfe : and to this point also, give mee leave to expresse my selfe, and it may bee necessary for me so to doe, although I am confident you are herein pre-resolved as I wish Sir, the staires are so easie, and ambition (that first made Devils) is so apt to climbe, that so long as the Ladder is not taken away The (1.) Priest would bee a (2.) rurall Deane. He an (3.) Archdeacon. Then (4.) a Bishop. An (5.) Archbishop. A (6.) Metropolitan. A (7.) Primate. The Primate would bee a (8.) Patriarch (his owne booke breathed that hope) and once a Patriarch, why not a (9.) Pope? Thus have you nine Degrees of a terrestriall Hierarchy, futable to the invented nine Orders of a Caelestiall Hierarchy among the Angels. It was a fond fancy to invent them in the World above, and it will prove a dangerous folly in us to suffer these in the World below. One of the links of this Chaine is almost burst asunder : never let that bee sodered againe. Sir, *in uno Sylla multi Maris* : Cut off but one Archiepiscopacie, and you shall at once destroy with it, both Metropolitan, Primate and Patriarch, and in time the Pope also. Archiepiscopacie 'I why, who ever voted that to bee Divine? Nay, who can give a good morall and prudentiall reason for the subsistence of Archiepiscopacie? This indeed is a Prince among the Lordly Prelates, and they all doe sweare Canonically fealty and allegiance to his Sovereigne Miter. But I forbear, being confident there is a concurrency enough in this House to vote the Abolition of that needlesse and that dangerous degree.

So then my sence is thus in briefe. Away with Archiepiscopacy both *roote and branch*. Away with my Lord Bishop both *roote and branch*. Touch not our Pastor Bishop. Reforme, reduce, replant our Bishop Prebend, and with him his Presbytery. Give him his ancient, due, and proper power. Let him ordaine and censure, but with due assisency, and not otherwise. Reason and necessity, and all exemplar government require this Episcopacy : Shew me a Colledge without a Master : A City without a Governour : A ship without a Pylot : An Army without a Generall : Doe the thrive without an Excellency? or doth Venice prosper without a Duke? or can you secure our owne House without a Speaker.

But Sir, I have heard some among us say, if then wee must have a Bishop, let him bee like a Pylot, onely for a voyage : let him bee like your selfe, a Speaker onely for a Parliament. I answer, if but so, yet is it better then any other way that I see yet propounded to you ; farre better then any hazardous way of Commissioners, that shall beginne

now, and ~~and~~ no man knowes when. But Sir, I come in againe upon my owne ground, and doe affirme that *ab initio non fuit sic*; your Bishop of old was not occasionall *pro re nata*, and immediately degraded, nothing so: but continued a fixed, constant, perpetuall moderator and president for life, unlesse ouert for his own demerits. I am for the old way, Reason and Religion have allowed it, and the constant practise of the best and most ancient times hath honoured it.

Take this also farther to approve it. If your Bishop President be not constant, the encouragement to Piety and Learning will not be so constant. Let desert in the Church have its own sphere (as desert in the civill State hath) a constant reward of Honour and of Profit. For Sir, Honour and Profit must invite forth Learning and industry, or you shall have none.

Thus have you (with my imperfections) my sense upon Episcopall government, the first part of your Bill: I passe in brief unto their Cathedrall Convents, my second distribution. Mr. *Speaker*, I have bin diligent and attentive to the whole procedure of all debates of this nature, yet am I, just where I ever was, nothing moved, not at all changed, unlesse this be a change; that by hearing my owne sense better argued for by others, then I could doe for my selfe, it is now deeper fortified within me.

One main exception to the quite voting away our Cathedrals, ever was and doth yet remaine with me. That which sticks with mee is this: what certainty, what security shall I have that *Learning* and *Religion* shall have a perpetuall maintenance, and a sure reward of *Honour* and *Profit* proportionall? you will say, that your Vote already passed will secure me; nothing so: You have indeed voted that *all the Lands of the Deans and Chapters shall be employed to the advancement of Learning and Piety*. But in the meane time what becomes of the Bishops Lands? They are Cathedrall also: if you take away the present proprietor, what shall become of the Land? wee shall not rifle for it; Shall we make a gift of what is none of our own? or shall we cure the Common-wealth at the cost of the Church? I heare little said in the House, I heare too much in private.

But I proceed. This Vote (I say) doth not secure me: It is too generally. My reason why I am not herewith satisfied is this, because for ought this Vote expresseth, you may give all the Land to any one use onely, and performe your Vote; as for instance, if all the wealth of Deaneries be distributed among the Parish-Ministers onely, your Vote is fulfilled; But all the *Learning* and the *Piety*, that wee are bound to take care of, is not thereby provided for.

This

This (I say) doth therefore stick with me, and notwithstanding your generall Vote so inwardly, that untill I doe see and know, how and in what manner the use and the particular disposall of this great revenue (both Episcopall and conventuall) shall be, I cannot concur to vote away the present possessours thereof: No, not the future successours thereunto. Our Deanes and Prebends as now they stand, or rather, as they have of late abused themselves, are both burdensome and scandalous to us, and to our Religion. Yet I must looke upon their revenue, as the great reward, and powerfull encouragement of *Religion* and of *Learning*.

Some would alter and amend these cloysters, others would root them out; some would transfer their wealth, but doe not tell me whither. Some would annexe all to the Crown, to enlarge the royall revenue; Some reputing them Incendiaries, would out of their forfeited estates, pay our debt of promise to the Scots; Some would distribute all that wealth among Parish Ministers onely; Others have mixt and different designs. And there want not some who upon all these Lands doe write, *Touch not, taste not, handle not*; you know it was urged by a worthy learned *Dr.* at the Bar, that of Saint *Paul*, *Thou that abhorrest Idols, committest thou sacrilege*? This theame I shall decline, and whatsoever my opinion bee, whether man can give unto God a speciall property in a peece of Land or not; yet am I fully resolved never to alienate any of these Revenues, but to mend the uses in the way of piety, so that this supposed danger of being sacrilegious shall be certainly out of my doores.

Col. 3. 1. 2.
Dr. H. C. e.
Rom. 1. 2. 1.

- In the next place, my humble and my earnest desire is, that you will maintaine the Pen as well as the Pulpit, Polemic as well as persuasive learning. If our Cathedrals were rightly temper'd, wee might hope for admirable fruite of their Revenues. Young Students in Divinity wander for want of manuduction. Poore Christians among us want a godly, sober, plaine and pitby English Paraphrase upon the whole Bible. Our Nation, our Religion, and all Christendome want the just Volumnes of a large Latine Commentary. The body of Divinity should bee reduced into a solid Catechisme.
- Every heresie might bee choked in its first breath. All the Fathers might be revised and briefly animadversed. I cannot thinke of halfe the happinesse wee might hope for, so long as the rewards of *Wisdom* are held forth to invite and encourage Industry. *Riches and honour are with me*, saith *Wisdom*, that knew how to invite. Take then none of the reward away, either of *Profit*, or of *Honour*; So much reward as you abate, so much industry

Pro. 8. 11

industry you looke. Who ever went unto the *Hesperides* onely to fight with the Dragon? onely for that? for victory, and for nothing else? No, *Sir*, but there was the fruit of Gold (*Profit* as well as *Honour*) to be gained, to be atchieved, and for that the Dragon shall be fought withall.

Quis enim doctrinam amplectitur ipsam,

Præmia si tollas?

The Lawyer, the Physician, the Merchant, through cheaper paines doe usually arrive at richer fortunes; And but that it pleaseth God to work inwardly, I should wonder that so many able heads, ingenuous spirits, and industrious souls, should joy in the continuall life long paines, and care of a Parish Cure, about 100. l. *per annum* stipend for life, when with easier browes, fewer watchings, and lesser charge, they might in another profession (as every day we see it done) fasten a steady inheritance to them and their Children, of a far larger income.

In this place there was composition of that which was (on a like occasion) spoken 22. Novemb. and is emred pag. And this place is halfe imperfect for want of those lines here.

Let mee here by way of anticipation, prevent that which will else come in objectively upon me. The Universities (it will be said) are amply furnished with able disputants: what need other care, other provision?

Truely *Mr. Speaker*, excepting some of our publike Professours there, and some few of the heads of our Houses there, who hath descended into this *Arcopagus*? There is indeed good training, good preparatory exercising of raw Souldiers there; and much valour in counterfeit skirmishes among them: But for perfect Pölemy in letters, you may guesse what our Universities can yeeld, by observing our Trayned Bands at common Musters: Your graduate in the schoole of warre will tell you, that good Artillery men, though quick at a dry muster, and nimble with false fires, are not immediately compleated into true, and full Souldiers: So every Syllogizor is not presently a match to cope with *Bellarmino*, *Baronius*, *Stapleton*, &c. *Mr. Speaker*, you see my heart; I move not, I plead not for the Deanes, nor for the Prebends. If they will not prove, if they cannot be turned to be champions in this holy warfare, then the rich revenue *dénur digniori*: Let it be given to them that will bring forth better fruit. But if there may bee had such a reduction of them, such a retrenching of them, nay, such a new forming of them, that wee may bee alway sure in all Pelemicke learning, to have some men of valour, to goe in and out before us: Surely *Sir*, let them bee so reduced, so retrenched, so new formed; if not, if this cannot be, then let others have the wealth

wealth, that will do the work.

And after all this (I beseech you) let me not be misconstrued, as if I intended an Apology for these Cathedrall societies: it is neither in my wish nor power. These Covents are still the same with me they ever were: and the short character of a Cathedrall Corporation (as now it stands abused) is still the same it was. A nest of Non-residents. An *Epicurean* Colledge of riot and voluptuoufnesse. A schoole for complements in Religion: but a scourge upon the life and practice thereof. They have bin the *Asylum* for superstition: but the *Scala Gemonia* for true Piety. Of late they have bin the shame of our Clergy: and are now almost become the scorn of our Laity. Yet Sir, for all this (all this so bad so true) I am still where I was. Though the Channel be foul and muddy, where these waters (I mean their wealth) doth run, yet I cannot wish it dried up; but rather purged and cleansed, or else a new channell cut, wherein the current of all their wealth may run on, pure and clean to the holy uses of Religion and of Learning. Sir, many great and excellent uses (all for Piety and Learning) may be presented to you: I beseech you let us consider sadly on it. For if this wealth be but once likewater powred abroad, no time, no age to come will ever give us such a stock again. And thus I end the second of my two generall Heads.

To sum up all, you see I am for the old originall Episcopacie, with Presbyters subjoynd thereunto: and I am for an explicite disposal of all manner of Church revenues: your bill denyes me both. It denyes me my strong wishes, and forceth upon me the terror of confusion. This Bill doth seem to me an uncouth wilderness, a dismall vastnesse, and a solitude wherein to wander, and to lose our selves and our church, never to be found again; me thinks we are come to the brink of a fatall precipice, and here wee stand ready to dare one another, who shall first leape down. And that which increaseth my horror and amazement to the height, is to hear men confidently affirm, that we go safe upon an even ground, and that all this while the government is not changed. Surely Sir, either my head is giddy, or else I see in this Bill our English Church turn round, or rather toft upside down.

Perswade the King to commit all his regall authority into 9. Commissioners, and tell him, that he is still a Monarch. Beside the change of governors, do you not give us new rules? Do you not take away the old? and is the government still the same? I will

instance into one. What is become of the divine Ordinance of Excommunication? must there be none? there is none in all your Bill. Five Lay-men shall require five Ministers to ordain: is not this new? was this government with us? nay was it ever in the world before? five Lay-Commissioners must judge and pronounce in matter of heresie: yet still our Church-government is unchanged. I know not what to say in so dull, so flat a cause. Truly Sir, for my part I do look upon this Bill as upon the gasping period of all good order: it will prove the mother of absolute Anarchisme: it is with me as the passing bell to toll on the funerall of our Religion, which when it goes will leave this dismal shreek behind.

Еще даверю яаи мѣсто мое.

When Religion dyes, let the world be made a Bone-fire.

In short Sir, this Bill hath so little of my Hopes, so nothing of my Reason, so all of my Fears, that if it must passe, I do must humbly pray, and do earnestly beseech this Honourable House to grant me this favour, that I may be admitted to my Protestation against this Bill, and so recorded. And (although some worthy Members of this House are troubled, as they have cause, to have their names set on a poast) yet it is my ambition that I may as negative to this bill, be poasted up from *Westminster* to the *Tower*, and from *Dover* to *Barwick*, as one that dares not hazard a whole Nationall Church at blind man buffe.

To conclude all: so great a variety of matter: so totall a mutation, of so vast and so hazardous a consequence: it doth amaze me and distract me so, that although I must say No to your Bill, yet I hardly know with what motion to conclude. But thus I adventure.

Let the intent & scope of Reformation be divided into two bills,
Let the subject of the first be Church Government.

Let the subject of the 2d. be the disposal of Church revenues.

Let both these bills go *pari passu*, hand in hand together.

And because I cannot so well by word of mouth and memory present them, I do humbly beg leave either to read unto you such heads, for the first of these bills, as I conceive will well stand both with our Religion, and with the present Laws of the Common-wealth: Or else, that you will please to take in a new Bill ready formed to that sense, and I doubt not, but you will quickly find it the best and nearest way to Pciety, Peace, the honour of our Religion, and the Glory of God.



Church-government.

REDUCED INTO A FEW HEADS;
 fit (as J conceive) to be reformed into a Bill to be presented
 to the Commons Houſe in Parliament.

Memorandum, *An imperfect Copy of theſe, without my knowledge or
 conſent hath bin three times printed before.*

I.

I *Primis*, Every ſeverall Shire of England to be a ſeverall Circuit or Dioceſſe for Eccleſiaſtick juuriſdiction: excepting the little County of Rutland, which may be joyned to Leceſter. And Yorkſhire which may be well divided into three.

II. The Dioceſſe in Wales to remain in Circuit as at preſent.

III. Twelve learned Divines of irreproveable life and Doctrine, to be ſelected in every Dioceſſe, as a conſtant Presbytery, and they to give neceſſary aſſiſtance to the Biſhop.

IV. A pious, and painfull Divine of exemplar life and Learning to be eſtabliſhed the Biſhop and conſtant Preſident over this Presbytery, and throughout the ſeverall Dioceſſes aforeſaid reſpectively.

V. This Biſhop in each Dioceſſe to ordain, ſuſpend, deprive, degrade, excommunicate, by and with conſent and aſſiſtance of ſeven Divines of his Presbytery then preſent, and not otherwiſe.

VI. This Biſhop to actuate and perform all thoſe ſervices and employments truſted unto, and expected from the preſent Biſhops of the Land, by virtue of the preſent Lawes of the Land.

VII. The times of Ordination throughout the Land to be four times every year, viz. the firſt Sunday in every month of May, Auguſt, November, and Februarie yearly.

VIII. Every Biſhop conſtantly to reſide within his Dioceſſe, and to keepe his eſpeciall reſidence in ſome one prime or

chief City or town within his Diocesse: as in particular the Bishop of Kent at Canterbury. The B. of Suffex at Chichester, &c.

IX. Every Bishop to have one especiall particular Congregation within his Cure, the most convenient for neernesse to his chief residence, and the richest in value that may be had, where he shall duly preach, unlesse he be lawfully hindered: and then shall take care that his cure be well supplied by another.

X. No Bishop shall remove, or be translated from the Bishoprick which he shall first undertake; unlesse it be done by the King, with consent of a Nationall Synod, or consent of Parliament.

XI. Upon death or other avoidance of a Bishop, the King to grant a *Congé d'essier* to the whole Clergie of that Diocesse, and they to present three of the Presbyters aforesaid, and the King to appoint which of the three his Majesty shall please.

XII. The first Presbyters in every Diocesse to be named in this present Parliament.

XIII. Upon the death or any other avoidance of a Presbyter, the Ministers of that Diocesse to present three: and the Bishop with the rest of the Presbyters to make election out of that three; and if Votes be equal, then the Bishops vote to sway the Election.

XIV. The *Congé d'essier* for election of a Bishop, shall issue forth within two months after the death, or other avoidance of a Bishop. The choice of another Presbyter to be within one month after the death or avoidance of a former Presbyter.

XV. No Bishop or other Clergy man to have the constant manage of any Temporall office, or secular jurisdiction, but only for the present to hold and keep the probate of Wills in the usuall places, untill the Parliament shall otherwise resolve. Yet I conceive it fit that the 12. Bishops (by the rest of the Bishops to be chosen) by every Parliament called to sit there assistant, to give advice in matter of Religion, and in cases of conscience, when the House of Lords shall please to require it of them.

XVI. Parochiall Ministers to be entrusted and endued with more power then formerly: the manner and extent whereof to be determined in the next Nationall Synod.

XVII. The Parish Minister to hold weekly Vestries there with the Parishioners, to consider and take notice of all manner of scandall within the Parish.

XVIII. The Parish Ministers to meet in every rural Deanery once,

once every quarter, there to prepare, and make up (by joynt assent) such presentments of scandal, as may be fit to be transmitted to the Bishop and Presbytery.

XXIX. The Bishop once a year (at Midsummer) to summon a Diocesan Synod there to hear, and by general vote to determine all such matter of scandal in life and doctrine as shall be presented to them.

XX. Every three years (at the same day the triennial Parliament shall begin) a Nationall Synod to be (whereby there wil be no need of Arch-bishops) which Synod shall for persons consist of all the Bishops in the Land, and of two Presbyters to be chosen by the rest out of each Presbytery: and of two Clerks to be chosen out of every Diocesse by the Clergy thereof.

• XXJ. At the first day of their convention the Bishops out of their own number to chuse a moderator or president of the Synod.

XXIJ. From the Vestry, appeal may be to the rurall Deanery, from thence to the Diocesan Synod, and from the Diocesan to the Nationall Synod.

XXIJJ. This Nationall Synod to make and ordain Canons for, the government of the Church, but they not to bind, untill confirmed by the King in Parliament.

XXIV. Every Bishop to have over and above the Benefice aforesaid a convenient dwelling in the chief town of his residence a certain profit of a constant rent allowed and allotted proportionall to the Diocesse wherein he is to officiate.

XXV. That certain choice Benefices of the best value, and most convenient situation, that can be had, may be allotted to the Presbyters, one to each, and that they also may have each of them a constant yearly profit over and above his Benefice.

XXVI. As for the Revenue of the Bishops, Deans, Chapters, &c. a strict survey to be taken of all their rents and profits, by choice Commissioners in every severall County, and the same at an appointed time to be represented to the Parliament, and in the mean time no timber to be felled. Afterward some of the profits may be laid by to make a stock, wherewith to purchase in the best fruits and tithes, by ascertaining a more steady rent to the crown. Impropriations may be bought in. Ministers Widows and Orphans may not with husband and Father lose all support. Libraries (at the publique charge) to be provided for every Bishop And some Colledges erected, and by degrees endowed for D

vines therein to exercise themselves, through all the latitude of Theology.

POSTSCRIPT.

THUS have you a faithfull and a clear exposure of my self in matter of Religion, both in what I have said and in what I wish may be done. Let the candid and ingenious Reader judge me. Such of the Prelatick partie as are in love with present pomp and power will be averse unto me, because *I* pare so deep: The *Rooters*, the Antiprelatick party declaim against me, because *I* will not take all away. At last Midsummer a new Moon did take these men, *I* did begin to finde a different greeting, a change of salutation. Some expostulate; others condemn: some advise: others would seem to condole: all upon occasion of my speech 21. *June*; although *I* finde not there (or in any thing else that *I* have said) any cause to make me the object of *their* anger, *their* counsell, or *their* pitty.

The plain truth (as *I* touched before) is that immediately upon my approach unto this Parliament, some circumstances did concur to lead my language on upon the Archbishop, not any personall passages (God and my soul do witness for me, *I* have not such a temper) But being servitor for that Shire, and in that Diocese where some of his hardship then fresh and new was brought by complaint unto me; The accident of presenting that complaint, did beget me almost as many new friends as he had old enemies: and *I* know not what misconception did thereupon (untruly) entitle me an enemy to the very function of Episcopacie. *I* never gave my name in to take away both root and branch. *I* love not the sound of a curse so well. If by the *Rooters* *I* have been so mistaken, their credulity is not my crime. And their foul language shall neither be my shame nor sorrow, *I* will repeat some of their salutations.

- 1 *A. G.*
 - 2 *W. P.*
 - 3 *S. W. B.*
 - 4 *M. S.*
 - 5 *W. C.*
 - 6 *Mr. S. S.*
 - 7 *Dr. B.*
 - 8 *Dr. W.*
 - 9 *R. L. B.*
1. One tels me that *I* would onely have new Bishops in room of old ones: *Cujus contrarium verum est.* 2. Another that *I* have a Pope in my belly. 3. A third that *h* was never more sorry for any speech in the House meaning that 21. *Jun.* 4. Another that *strange things were said of me.* 5. A fifth and 6 sixth that *I* go the way to spoil all their work, so *I* hope *I* do. 7. A seventh that it is said *I* am *salu* from Grace: so some men seem desperately to look into the Ark of God. 8. An eighth that *I* have *contrariied* all that *I* said before: let the Dr. shew me that now. 9. A ninth is told that *I* am *aposta-*

apostated; I doubt his Religion (*in quantum* it differs from that of
 of the Church of England) is an Apostacy. 10. A tenth that I am 10 Mr. F.
 gone over to their adversaries. 11. An eleventh and twelfth that the 11 S. A. H.
 Primate of Ireland, and Dr. Browning have infected me, I dare drink 12 T. W.
 their poison. 13. That the two learned and painfull equals with- 13 G. H.
 out match, Mr. Reading, and Mr. Ab'or, abusing my trust in them,
 and good opinion of them do mislead me; a slander upon three at
 once. 14. Dr. Burges and I have conferred notes; I wish we had. 15. 14 S. E. P.
 That I am for Bishops, for crosses, and for Images; true and false. 16. 15 Mr. R.
 That if I had held where I was, there had not been a Bishop in the 16 L. K.
 Land before August last; a false wizard, I did hold where I was, and
 yet the Bishops are where they were. 17. That I have lost the 17 C. W.
 prayers of many thousands. 18. That I have lost the honour I had, *ignom.*
 and that my conscience is not so good as it was in the beginning of 18 T. C.
 this Parliament. Good (Mr. C.) you w^o would have Bishops out
 of their chairs, come you out of the chair of the scornfull. You are
 one of them who jog our elbowes, and boar our Parliament ears
 with Babylon, Antichrist, and the mystery of Iniquitie, which I dare
 say is grossely misunderstood by your self and many others of
 your rooting Tribe.

Before this Parliament was convened, you would have joyed
 upon that day, when the sting of ill executed Episcopacie (the
 high Commission) had bin taken away; and (the pest of the chair)
 sole ship of power retrenched. One is done, and both had bin ef-
 fected, if you and such as you had not overheated a furnace that
 was burning hot before; and with pressing for Ruine have be-
 trayed the time of a blessed Reforming. Take it unto you, for up-
 on you, and the blind ignorant wilfulness of such as you, I do
 here charge the sad account of the losse of such a glorious Reformation,
 as being the revived image of the best and purest ages,
 would with its Beanty and Piety have drawn the eye and heart
 of all Christendome unto us. *The Horse-leeches daughters do crie, Prov. 30. 17*
Give, give. And you that have had enough, do stil cry more, more.
 The greedy Vulture of an insatiate appetite is incurable. To re-
 form Episcopacie it is in your esteem too faint, too cold a work,
 it is labor ill bestowed and unthankfully accepted, nay one of you
 (said in my hearing) it is a sin to labour in the dressing and proin-
 ing of that plant, which (say you) is not of God, & must be digged
 up. And with Episcopacy, away with the burden of our Liturgy.
 a If you take not off this burden also, it wil be girded upon us closer & a S. M.
 stronger

b Protestation protest-
ed, p. 20.

c Mich.
Quintin.

P. 4.
d Eatons
sermon vouch-
ed by Sir
Th. Ashton.

P. 4.
e Assertion
of Scottish
government.

P. 3. & 5.
f Quintin.

P. 9.
g Spencers
Pamphlet.
h thought to
be Salmasius
against Pe-
tavius p. 397
398.

a De Beref.
l. 2. c. 27.

b I. H.
H. M.
Epistetus.

stronger then ever. Away with the thought of a Nationall Church also, b It hath no pattern in the Scripture. c It is impossible for a Nationall Church to be the true Church of Christ. Let us have no Church but Congregations, d and let them be without all superintendency: as much to say, as let every family be a Church, and have religion as they please. Away with all e distinction of Clergie and Laitie, it is Popish and Antichristian. Let us then banish from us such popish names, and send them home to Rome. f The Church is a body of parity, whose members are all Kings and Priests. g And every man must exercise his gifts in common. So also the learned (but herein absurd and grosse) h Walo Messalinus, Omnes olim Presbyteri erant Laici; and again, Waldenses and Lutherus crediderunt justos ac fideles Laicos posse omnes, quia in Ecclesia Dei agi necesse est, agere, & omnibus muneribus Ecclesiasticis defungi. These things thus pressed, and pursued, I do not see but on this rise of the Kingship and Priestship of every particular man, the wicked sweetnesse of a popular paritie may hereafter labour to bring the King down to be but as the first among the Lords, and then if (as a Gentleman of the House professed his desire to me) we can but bring the Lords down into our House among us again, ^{supra} All's done. No rather, all's undone, by breaking asunder that well ordered chain of government, which from the chair of Jupiter reacheth down by severall golden links, even to the protection of the poorest creature that now lives among us.

What will the issue be, when hopes grow still on hopes? and one aim still riseth upon another, as one wave follows another? I cannot divine. In the mean time you of that party have made the work of Reformation farre more difficult then it was at the day of our meeting, and the vulgar mind now fond with imaginary hopes, is more greedy of new achievements then thankfull for what they have received. Satisfaction will not now be satisfactory. They and you are just in a Seneca's description. Non patitur aviditas quenquam esse gratum. Nunquam enim improba spes, quod datur, satis est. Eo majora cupimus, quo majora venerunt. — Eque ambitio non patitur quenquam in ea mensura conquiscescere, qua quondam fuit ejus impudens votum. — Ultra se cupiditas porrigit, & felicitatem suam non intelligit. Learn moderation (Mr. C.) unlessse (as b some of you Rooters do seem to hold) you do think moderation it self a vice. The Stoick was in that point more pious then such Christians, his Motto was, and your lesson is, Ἀνὴρ εἰς Ἀνδρῶν.

F I N I S.

